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THE WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON,

Lord Chancellor of England.

A NEW EDITION:

BY

BASIL MONTAGU, ESQ.

VOL. XII.

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LETTERS FROM THE CABALA.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Treasurer, concerning the Solicitor's place.

AFTER the remembrance of my humble duty, though I know, by late experience, how mindful your lordship vouchsafeth to be of me and my poor fortune, and since it pleased your lordship, during my indisposition, and when her majesty came to visit your lordship, to make mention of me for my employment and preferment; yet being now in the country, I do presume that your lordship, who of yourself had an honourable care of the matter, will not think it a trouble to be solicited therein. My hope is this, that whereas your lordship told me her majesty was somewhat gravelled upon the offence she took at my speech in parliament; your lordship's favourable endeavour, who hath assured me that for your own part you construe that I spake to the best, will be as a good tide to remove her from that shelve. And it is not unknown to your good lordship, that I was the first of the ordinary sort of the lower house that spake for the subsidy: and that which I after spake in difference, was but in circumstance of time, which methinks was no great matter, since there is variety allowed in counsel, as a discord in music, to make it more perfect.

But I may justly doubt, her majesty's impression upon this particular as her conceit otherwise of my insufficiency and unworthiness, which, though I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the less, because I purpose not to divide myself between her majesty and the causes of other men, as others have done, but to attend her business only: hoping that a whole man meanly able, may do as well as half a man better able. And if her majesty thinketh that she shall make an adventure in using one that is rather a man of study than of practice and experience, surely I may remember to have heard that my father, an example, I confess, rather ready than like, was made solicitor of the augmentation, a court of much business, when he had never practised, and was but twenty-seven years old; and Mr. Brograve was now in my time called attorney of the duchy, when he had practised little or nothing, and yet hath discharged his place with great sufficiency. But those and the like things are as her majesty shall be made capable of them; wherein, knowing what authority your lordship's commendations have with her majesty, I conclude with myself, that the substance of strength which I may receive, will be from your lordship. It is true, my life hath been so private, as I have had no means to do your lordship service; but yet, as your lordship knoweth, I have made offer of such as I could yield; for, as God hath given me a mind to love the public, so incidently, I have ever had your lordship in singular admiration; whose happy ability her majesty hath so long used, to her great honour and yours. Besides, that amendment of state or countenance, which I have received, hath been from your lordship. And therefore, if your lordship shall stand a good friend to your poor ally, you shall but "tueri opus" which you have begun. And your lordship shall bestow your benefit upon one that hath more sense of obligation than of self love. Thus

humbly desiring pardon of so long a letter, I wish your lordship all happiness.

Your Lordship's in all humbleness to be commanded.

FR. BACON.

June 6, 1595.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

My Lord,

With as much confidence as mine own honest and faithful devotion unto your service, and your honourable correspondence unto me and my poor estate can breed in a man, do I commend myself unto your lordship. I wax now somewhat ancient; one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed; and I do not fear that action shall impair it: because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are. I ever bear a mind, in some middle place that I could discharge, to serve her majesty; not as a man born under Sol, that loveth honour; nor under Jupiter, that loveth business, for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly: but as a man born under an excellent sovereign, that deserveth the dedication of all men's abilities. Besides I do not find in myself so much self-love, but that the greater parts of my thoughts are to deserve well, if I were able, of my friends, and namely of your lordship; who being the Atlas of this commonwealth, the honour of my house, and the second founder of my poor estate, I am tied by all duties, both of a good patriot, and of an unworthy kinsman, and of an obliged servant, to employ whatsoever I am, to do you service. Again, the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me: for though I cannot accuse myself, that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I

have taken all knowledge to be my providence;* and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities: the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils; I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that providence.* This, whether it be curiosity, or vain glory, or nature, or, if one take it favourably, philanthropia, is so fixed in my mind, as it cannot be removed. And I do easily see, that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than of a man's own; which is the thing I greatly affect. And for your lordship, perhaps you shall not find more strength and less encounter in any other. And if your lordship shall find now or at any time, that I do seek or affect any place, whereunto any that is nearer unto your lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man. And if your lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty: but this I will do, I will sell the inheritance that I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain, that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service, and become some sorry book-maker, or a true pioneer in that mine of truth, which, he said, lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your lordship, is rather thoughts than words, being set down without all art, disguising, or reservation: wherein I have done honour both to your lordship's wisdom, in judging that that will be best believed of your lordship which is truest; and to your lordship's good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so, I wish your lordship all happiness, and to myself means and occasion to be added to my faithful desire to do you service.

From my lodging at Gray's Inn.

* Province.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

My singular good Lord,

Your lordship's comfortable relation of her majesty's gracious opinion and meaning towards me, though at that time your leisure gave me not leave to shew how I was affected therewith; yet upon every representation thereof it entereth and striketh more deeply into me, as both my nature and duty presseth me to return some speech of thankfulness. It must be an exceeding comfort and encouragement to me, setting forth and putting myself in way towards her majesty's service, to encounter with an example so private and domestical, of her majesty's gracious goodness and benignity; being made good and verified in my father, so far forth, as it extendeth to his posterity.

Accepting them as commended by his service, during the non-age, as I may term it, of their own deserts, I, for my part, am very well content, that I take least part, either of his abilities of mind, or of his worldly advancement; both which he held and received, the one of the gift of God immediately, the other of her majesty's gift: yet, in the loyal and earnest affection which he bare to her majesty's service, I trust my portion shall not be with the least: nor in proportion with the youngest birth. For methinks his precedent should be a silent charge upon his blessing unto us all, in our degrees, to follow him afar off, and to dedicate unto her majesty's service both the use and spending of our lives. True it is, that I must needs acknowledge myself prepared and furnished thereunto with nothing but with a multitude of lacks and imperfections; but calling to mind how diversely, and in what particular providence God hath declared himself to tender the state of her majesty's affairs, I conceive and gather hope, that those whom he hath in a manner press'd for her majesty's service, by working and imprinting in them a single

and zealous mind to bestow their duties therein; he will see them accordingly appointed of sufficiency convenient for the rank and standing where they shall be employed: so as, under this her majesty's blessing, I trust to receive a larger allowance of God's graces. And as I may hope for this, so I can assure and promise for my endeavour, that it shall not be in fault; but what diligence can entitle me unto, that I doubt not to recover. And now seeing it hath pleased her majesty to take knowledge of this my mind, and to vouchsafe to appropriate me unto her service, preventing any desert of mine with her princely liberality; first, I humbly do beseech your lordship, to present to her majesty my more than humble thanks for the same: and withal, having regard to mine own unworthiness to receive such favour, and to the small possibility in me to satisfy and answer what her majesty conceiveth, I am moved to become a most humble suitor to her majesty, that this benefit also may be affixed unto the other; which is, that if there appear in me no such towardness of service, as it may be her majesty doth benignly value and assess me at, by reason of my sundry wants, and the disadvantage of my nature, being unapt to lay forth the simple store of those inferior gifts which God hath allotted unto me, most to view: yet that it would please her excellent majesty, not to account my thankfulness the less, for that my disability is great to shew it; but to sustain me in her majesty's gracious opinion, whereupon I only rest, and not upon any expectation of desert to proceed from myself towards the contentment thereof. But if it shall please God to send forth an occasion whereby my faithful affection may be tried, I trust it shall save me labour for ever making more protestation of it hereafter. In the mean time howsoever it be not made known to her majesty, yet God knoweth it, through the daily solicitations wherewith I address myself unto him, in unfeigned prayer, for the multiplying of her majesty's prosperities. To your lordship also,

whose recommendation, I know right well, hath been material to advance her majesty's good opinion of me, I can be but a bounden servant. So much may I safely promise, and purpose to be, seeing public and private bonds vary not, but that my service to her majesty and your lordship draw in line. I wish therefore to shew it with as good proof, as I can say it in good faith, etc.

Your Lordship's, etc.

Two Letters framed, one as from Mr. Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex; the other, as the Earl's Answer.

My singular good Lord,

This standing at a stay doth make me, in my love towards your lordship, jealous, lest you do somewhat, or omit somewhat, that amounteth to a new error; for I suppose, that of all former matters there is a full expiation; wherein, for any thing which your lordship doth, I, for my part, (who am remote) cannot cast or devise wherein my error should be, except in one point, which I dare not censure, nor dissuade; which is, that as the prophet saith, in this affliction you look up "ad manum percutientem," and so make your peace with God. And yet I have heard it noted, that my lord of Leicester, who could never get to be taken for a saint, yet in the queen's disfavour waxed seeming religious. Which may be thought by some, and used by others, as a case resembling yours, if men do not see, or will not see the difference between your two dispositions. But, to be plain with your lordship, my fear rather is, because I hear how some of your good and wise friends, not unpractised in the court, and supposing themselves not to be unseen in that deep and unscrutable centre of the court, which is her majesty's mind, do not only toll the bell, but even ring out peals, as if your fortune were dead and buried, and as if there were no possibility of re-

covering her majesty's favour; and as if the best of your condition were to live a private and retired life, out of want, out of peril, and out of manifest disgrace. And so, in this persuasion to your lordship-wards, to frame and accomodate your actions and mind to that end; I fear (I say) that this untimely despair may in time bring forth a just despair, by causing your lordship to slacken and break off your wise, loyal and seasonable endeavour and industry for redintegration to her majesty's favour, in comparison whereof, all other circumstances are but as atomi, or rather as a vacuum, without any substance at all.

Against this opinion, it may please your lordship to consider of these reasons, which I have collected; and to make judgment of them, neither out of the melancholy of your present fortune, nor out of the infusion of that which cometh to you by other's relation, which is subject to much tincture, but "ex rebus ab ipsis," out of the nature of the persons and actions themselves, as the truest, and less deceiving, ground of opinion. For, though I am so unfortunate as to be a stranger to her majesty's eye, much more to her nature and manners, yet by that which is extant I do manifestly discern, that she hath that character of the divine nature and goodness, as "quos amavit, amavit usque ad finem;" and where she hath a creature, she doth not deface nor defeat it: insomuch as, if I observe rightly, in those persons whom heretofore she hath honoured with her special favour, she hath covered and remitted, not only defections and ingratitudes in affection, but errors in state and service.

2. If I can, scholar-like, spell and put together the parts of her majesty's proceedings now towards your lordship, I cannot but make this construction; that her majesty, in her royal intention, never purposed to call your doings into public question, but only to have used a cloud without a shower, and censuring them by some restraint of liberty,

and debarring from her presence. For both the handling the cause in the star-chamber was inforced by the violence of libelling and rumours, wherein the queen thought to have satisfied the world, and yet spared your appearance: And then after. when that means, which was intended for the quenching of malicious bruits, turned to kindle them, because it was said your lordship was condemned unheard, and your lordship's sister wrote that private letter, then her majesty saw plainly, that these winds of rumours could not be commanded down, without a handling of the cause, by making you party, and admitting your defence. And to this purpose, I do assure your lordship, that my brother Francis Bacon, who is too wise to be abused, though he be both reserved in all particulars more than is needful, yet in generality he hath ever constantly, and with asseveration, affirmed to me, that both those days, that of the star-chamber, and that at my lord keeper's, were won of the queen, merely upon necessity and point of honour, against her own inclination.

3. In the last proceeding, I note three points, which are directly significant, that her majesty did expressly forbear any point which was irrecuperable, or might make your lordship in any degree uncapable of the return of her favour, or might fix any character indelible of disgrace upon you: for she spared the public places, which spared ignominy; she limited the charge precisely, not to touch disloyalty, and no record remaineth to memory of the charge or sentence.

4. The very distinction which was made in the sentence of sequestration, from the places of service in state, and leaving to your lordship the place of master of the horse, doth in my understanding, point at this, that her majesty meant to use your lordship's attendance in court, while the exercises of other places stood suspended.

5. I have heard, and your lordship knoweth better,

that now since you were in your own custody, her majesty, "in verbo regio," and by his mouth to whom she committeth her royal grants and decrees, hath assured your lordship, she will forbid, and not suffer your ruin.

6. As I have heard her majesty to be a prince of that magnanimity, that she will spare the service of the ablest subject or peer, where she shall be thought not to stand in need of it; so she is of that policy, as she will not blaze the service of a meaner than your lordship, where it shall depend merely upon her choice and will.

7. I held it for a principle, that those diseases are hardest to cure, whereof the cause is obscure; and those easiest, whereof the cause is manifest. Whereupon I conclude, that since it hath been your errors in your lowness towards her majesty which have prejudiced you, that your reforming and conformity will restore you, so as you may be "faber fortunæ propriæ."

Lastly, considering your lordship is removed from dealing in causes of state, and left only to a place of attendance, methinks the ambition of any which can endure no partners in state-matters may be so quenched, as they should not laboriously oppose themselves to your being in court. So as upon the whole matter, I cannot find, neither in her majesty's person, nor in your own person, nor in any third person, neither in former precedents, nor in your own case, any cause of peremptory despair. Neither do I speak this, but that if her majesty out of her resolution should design you to a private life, you should be as willing, upon the appointment, to go into the wilderness, as into the land of promise; only I wish that your lordship will not despair, but put trust (next to God) in her majesty's grace, and not be wanting to yourself. I know your lordship may justly interpret, that this which I persuade may have some reference to my particular, because I may truly say, "tu stante non virebo," for I am withered in

my self; but manebo, or tenebo, I should in some sort be, or hold out. But though your lordship's years and health may expect return of grace and fortune, yet your eclipse for a time is an "ultimum vale" to my fortune: And were it not that I desired and hope to see my brother established by her majesty's favour, as I think him well worthy for that he hath done and suffered, it were time I did take that course from which I dissuade your lordship. Now in the mean time, I cannot chuse but perform those honest duties unto you, to whom I have been so deeply bound, etc.

The Earl of Essex's Answer to Mr. Anthony Bacon's Letter.

Mr. Bacon,

I thank you for your kind and careful letter; it persuadeth that which I wish for strongly, and hope for weakly, that is, possibility of restitution to her majesty's favour; your arguments that would cherish hope, turn into despair: you say the queen never meant to call me to public censure, which sheweth her goodness; but you see I passed it, which sheweth other's power. I believe most steadfastly, her majesty never intended to bring my cause to a public censure: and I believe as verily, that since the sentence she meant to restore me to tend upon her person: but those which could use occasions (which it was not in me to let) and amplify and practise occasions to represent to her majesty a necessity to bring me to the one, can and will do the like to stop me from the other. You say, my errors were my prejudice, and therefore I can mend myself. It is true; but they that know that I can mend myself, and that if I ever recover the queen, that I will never loose her again, will never suffer me to obtain interest in her favour: and you say, the queen never forsook utterly where she

hath inwardly favoured; but know not whether the hour-glass of time hath altered her; but sure I am, the false glass of other's informations must alter her, when I want access to plead mine own cause. I know I ought doubly, infinitely to be her majesty's, both "jure creationis," for I am her creature; and "jure redemptionis," for I know she hath saved me from overthrow. But for her first love, and for her last protection, and all her great benefits, I can but pray for her majesty; and my endeavour is now to make my prayers for her and myself better heard. For thanks be to God, that they which can make her majesty believe I counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe that I counterfeit with him; and they that can let me from coming near to her, cannot let me from drawing nearer to him, as I hope I do daily. For your brother, I hold him an honest gentleman, and wish him all good, much rather for your sake; yourself, I know, hath suffered more for me, and with me, than any friend that I have: but I can but lament freely, as you see I do, and advise you not to do that I do, which is, to despair. You know letters what hurt they have done me, and therefore make sure of this; and yet I could not, as having no other pledge of my love, but communicate openly with you for the ease of my heart and yours.

Your loving friend,

R. Essex.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Salisbury, concerning the Solicitor's place.

May it please your Lordship,

I am not privy to myself of any such ill deserving towards your lordship, as that I should think it an imprudent thing to be a suitor for your favour in a reasonable matter, your lordship being to me as (with your good favour) you

cannot cease to be: but rather it were a simple and arrogant part in me to forbear it.

It is thought Mr. Attorney shall be chief justice of the Common-place; in case Mr. Solicitor rise, I would be glad now at last to be solicitor: chiefly because I think it will increase my practice, wherein God blessing me a few years, I may mend my state, and so after fall to my studies and ease; whereof one is requisite for my body, and the other serveth for my mind; wherein if I shall find your lordship's favour, I shall be more happy than I have been, which may make me also more wise. I have small store of means about the king, and to sue myself is not fit; and therefore I shall leave it to God, his majesty, and your lordship: for I must still be next the door. I thank God, in these transitory things I am well resolved. So beseeching your lordship not to think this letter the less humble, because it is plain, I rest, etc.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex, when Sir Robert Cecil was in France.

My singular good Lord,

I do write, because I have not yet had time fully to express my conceit, nor now, to attend you touching Irish matters, considering them as they may concern the state; that it is one of the aptest particulars that hath come, or can come upon the stage, for your lordship to purchase honour upon, I am moved to think for three reasons; because it is ingenerate in your house in respect of my lord your father's noble attempts; because of all the accidents of state at this time, the labour resteth upon that most; and because the world will make a kind of comparison between those that set it out of frame, and those that shall bring it into frame: which kind of honour giveth

the quickest kind of reflection. The transferring this honour upon yourself consisteth in two points: the one, if the principal persons employed come in by you, and depend upon you; the other, if your lordship declare yourself to undertake a care of that matter. For the persons, it falleth out well that your lordship hath had no interest in the persons of imputation: For neither Sir William Fitz-Williams, not Sir John Norris was yours: Sir William Russel was conceived yours, but was curbed: Sir Coniers Clifford, as I conceive it, dependeth upon you, who is said to do well; and if my lord of Ormond in this interim do accommodate well, I take it he hath always had good understanding with your lordship. So as all things are not only whole and entire, but of favourable aspect towards your lordship, if you now chuse well: wherein, in your wisdom, you will remember there is a great difference in choice of the persons, as you shall think the affairs to incline to composition, or to war. For your care-taking, popular conceit hath been, that Irish causes have been much neglected, whereby the very reputation of better care will be a strength: and I am sure, her majesty and my lords of the council do not think their care dissolved, when they have chosen whom to employ; but that they will proceed in a spirit of state, and not leave the main point to discretion. Then if a resolution be taken; a consultation must proceed; and the consultation must be governed upon information to be had from such as know the place, and matters in fact, and in taking of information I have always noted there is a skill and a wisdom. For I cannot tell what account or inquiry hath been taken of Sir William Russel, of Sir Ralph Bingham, of the Earl of Thomond, of Mr. Wilbraham: but I am of opinion, much more would be had of them, if your lordship shall be pleased severally to confer, not obiter, but expressly, upon some caveat given them to think of it before, for, "bene docet qui prudenter

interrogat." For the points of opposing them, I am too much a stranger to the business, to deduce them: but in a topick methinks the pertinent interrogations must be either of the possibility and means of accord, or of the nature of the war, or of the reformation of the particular abuses, or of the joining of practice with force in the disunion of the rebels. If your lordship doubt to put your sickle in other men's harvests, yet consider you have these advantages. First, time being fit to you in Mr. Secretary's absence: next, "vis unita fortior:" thirdly, the business being mixt with matters of war, it is fittest for you: lastly, I know your lordship will carry it with that modesty and respect towards aged dignity, and that good correspondence towards my dear ally, and your good friend, now abroad, as no inconvenience may grow that way. Thus have I played the ignorant statesman, which I do to no body but your lordship, except I do it to the queen sometimes, when she trains me on. But your lordship will accept my duty and good meaning, and secure me touching the privateness of that I write.

Your Lordship's, to be commanded,

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex, concerning the Earl of Tyrone.

Those advertisements which your lordship imparted to me, and the like, I hold to be no more certain to make judgment upon than a patient's water to a physician: therefore for me upon one water to make a judgment, were indeed like a foolish bold mountebank, or Dr. Birket; yet for willing duty's sake, I will set down to your lordship what opinion sprung in my mind upon that I read. The letter from the council there, leaning to distrust, I do not much rely upon for three causes. First, because it is always

both the grace and the safety from blame of such a council to err in caution: whereunto add, that it may be they, or some of them, are not without envy towards the person who is used in treating the accord. Next, because the time of this treaty hath no shew of dissimulation, for that Tyrone is now in no streights, but like a gamester that will give over because he is a winner, not because he hath no more money in his purse.

Lastly, I do not see but those articles whereon they ground their suspicion, may as well proceed out of fear as out of falsehood, for the retaining of the dependence of the protracting the admission of a sheriff, the refusing to give his son for hostage, the holding from present repair to Dublin, the refusing to go presently to accord, without including O'Donell, and others his associates, may very well come of a guilty reservation, in case he should receive hard measure, and not out of treachery; so as if the great person be faithful, and that you have not here some present intelligence of present succours from Spain, for the expectation whereof Tyrone would win time, I see no deep cause of distrusting the cause if it be good. And for the question, her majesty seemeth to me a winner three ways: first, her purse shall have rest: next, it will divert the foreign designs upon that place: thirdly, though her majesty is like for a time to govern precario in the north, and be not in true command in better state there than before, yet besides the two respects of ease of charge, and advantage of opinion abroad, before mentioned, she shall have a time to use her princely policy in two points: in the one, to weaken by division and disunion of the heads; the other, by recovering and winning the people by justice, which of all other causes is the best. Now for the Athenian question, you discourse well, "Quid igitur agendum est?" I will shoot my fool's bolt, since you will have it so. The Earl of Ormond to be encouraged and comforted above all things, the garrisons to

be instantly provided for; for opportunity makes a thief: and if he should mean never so well now, yet such an advantage as the breaking of her majesty's garrisons, might tempt a true man. And because he may as well waver upon his own inconstancy, as upon occasion, and want of variableness is never restrained but with fear, I hold it necessary to be menaced with a strong war; not by words, but by musters and preparations of forces here, in case the accord proceed not; but none to be sent over lest it disturb the treaty, and make him look to be overrun as soon as he hath laid down arms. And, but that your lordship is too easy to pass, in such cases, from dissimulation to verity, I think, if your lordship lent your reputation in this case, it is to pretend, that if not a defensive war, as in times past, but a full re-conquest of those parts of the country be resolved on, you would accept the charge, I think it would help to settle him, and win you a great deal of honour gratis. And that which most properly concerneth this action, if it prove a peace, I think her majesty shall do well to cure the root of the disease, and to profess by a commission of peaceable men chiefly of respect and countenance, the reformation of abuses, extortions and injustices there, and to plant a stronger and surer government than heretofore, for the ease and protection of the subject; for the removing of the sword, or government in arms, from the earl of Ormond, or the sending of a deputy, which will eclipse it, if peace follow, I think unseasonable. Lastly, I hold still my opinion, both for your better information, and your fuller declaration of your care, and evermore meriting service, that your lordship have a set conference with the persons I named in my former writing. I rest,

At your Lordship's service,

FR. BACON.

Another to the Earl before his going to Ireland.

My singular good Lord,

Your note of my silence in your occasions hath made me et down these few wandering lines, as one that would say somewhat, and can say nothing touching your lordship's intended charge for Ireland; which my endeavour I know your lordship will accept graciously and well, whether your lordship take it by the handle of the occasion ministered from yourself, or of the affection from which it proceedeth. Your lordship is designed to a service of great merit and great peril; and as the greatness of the peril must needs include no small consequence of peril, if it be not temperately governed; so all immoderate success extinguisheth merit, and stirreth up distaste and envy, the assured forerunner of whole changes of peril. But I am at the last point first, some good spirit leading my pen to presage your lordship's success; wherein it is true, I am not without my oracle and divinations, none of them superstitious, and yet not all natural: for first, looking into the course of God's providence in things now depending, and calling into consideration how great things God hath done by her majesty, and for her collect he hath disposed of this great dissection in Ireland, whereby to give an urgent occasion to the reduction of that whole kingdom, as upon the rebellion of Desmond there ensued the reduction of that province. Next, your lordship goeth against three of the unluckiest vices of all other, disloyalty, ingratitude, and insolence; which three offences in all examples have seldom their doom adjourned to the world to come. Lastly, he that shall have had the honour to know your lordship inwardly, as I have had, shall find "bona exta," whereby he may better ground a divination of good, than upon the dissection of a sacrifice. But that part I leave, for it is fit for

others to be confident upon you, and you to be confident upon the cause, the goodness and justice whereof is such as can hardly be matched in any example, it being no ambitious war of foreigners, but a recovery of subjects, and that after lenity of conditions often tried; and a recovery of them not only to obedience, but to humanity and policy, from more than Indian barbarism. There is yet another kind of divination familiar in matters of state, being that which Demosthenes so often relieth upon in his time, where he saith, that which for the time past is worst of all, is for the time to come the best, which is, that things go ill not by accident but by error; wherein though your lordship hath been a waking censor, yet you must look for no other now, but "medice, cura teipsum;" and although your lordship shall not be the blessed physician that cometh to the declination of the disease, yet you embrace that condition which many noble spirits have accepted for advantage, which is, that you go upon the greater peril of your fortune, and the less of your reputation; and so the honour countervaileth the adventure: of which honour your lordship is in no small possession, when that her majesty, known to be one of the most judicious princes in discerning of spirits that ever governed, hath made choice of you merely out of her royal judgment, (her affection inclining rather to continue your attendance,) into whose hands and trust to put the commandment and conduct of so great forces, the gathering in the fruit of so great charge, the execution of so many councils, the redeeming of the defaults of so many former governors, and the clearing the glory of so many happy years reign, only in this part excepted. Nay farther, how far forth the peril of that state is interlaced with the peril of England; and therefore how great the honour is to keep and defend the approaches of this kingdom, I hear many discourse; and indeed there is a great difference, whether the tortoise gather herself into her shell hurt or unhurt: and if any man be of

opinion, that the nature of an enemy doth extenuate the honour of a service, being but a rebel and a savage, I differ from him; for I see the justest triumphs that the Romans in their greatest greatness did obtain, and that whereof the emperors in their styles took additions and denominations, were of such an enemy; that is, people barbarous, and not reduced to civility, magnifying a kind of lawless liberty, prodigal of life, hardened in body, fortified in woods and bogs, placing both justice and felicity in the sharpness of their swords. Such were the Germans and ancient Britons, and divers others. Upon which kind of people, whether the victory be a conquest, or a re-conquest upon a rebellion or revolt, it made no difference that ever I could find, in honour. And therefore it is not the enriching the predatory war that hath the pre-eminence in honour; else should it be more honour to bring in a carrack of rich burthen, than one of the twelve Spanish apostles. But then this nature of people doth yield a higher point of honour (considering in truth and substance) than any war can yield which should be achieved against a civil enemy, if the end may be—"pacique imponere morem," to replant and refound the policy of that nation, to which nothing is wanting but a just and civil government. Which design, as it doth descend to you from your noble father, (who lost his life in that action, though he paid tribute to nature, and not to fortune,) so I hope your lordship shall be as fatal a captain to this war, as Africanus was to the war of Carthage, after that both his uncle and his father had lost their lives in Spain in the same war.

Now although it be true, that these things which I have writ (being but representations unto your lordship of the honour and appearance of success in the enterprise) be not much to the purpose of my direction, yet it is that which is best to me, being no man of war, and ignorant in the particulars of state: for a man may by the eye set up the white right in the midst of the butt, though he be no archer.

Therefore I will only add this wish, according to the English phrase, which termeth a well-wishing advice a wish, that your lordship in this whole action, looking forward, set down this position; that merit is worthier than fame; and looking back hither, would remember this text, that "obedience is better than sacrifice." For designing to fame and glory may make your lordship, in the adventure of your person, to be valiant as a private soldier, rather than as a general; it may make you in your commandments rather to be gracious than disciplinary; it may make you press action, in the respect of the great expectation conceived, rather hastily than seasonably and safely; it may make you seek rather to achieve the war by force, than by mixture of practice; it may make you (if God shall send you prosperous beginnings) rather seek the fruition of the honour, than the perfection of the work in hand. And for your proceeding like a good protestant (upon warrant, and not upon good intention) your lordship knoweth, in your wisdom, that as it is most fit for you to desire convenient liberty of instruction, so it is no less fit for you to observe the due limits of them, remembering that the exceeding of them may not only procure (in case of adverse accident) a dangerous disavow, but also (in case of prosperous success) be subject to interpretation, as if all was not referred to the right end.

Thus I have presumed to write these few lines to your lordship, "in methodo ignorantiæ," which is, when a man speaketh of any subject not according to the parts of the matter, but according to the model of his own knowledge: and most humbly desire your lordship, that the weakness thereof may be supplied in your lordship, by a benign acceptation, as it is in me by my best wishing.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon, to the Earl of Essex after his enlargement.

My Lord,

No man can expound my doings better than your lordship, which makes me need to say the less; only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to the conscience and commendation of "bonus civis" and "bonus vir;" and that though I love some things better, I confess, than I love your lordship; yet I love few persons better, both for gratitude's sake, and for virtues, which cannot hurt, but by accident. Of which my good affection it may please your lordship to assure yourself, of all the true effects and offices that I can yield: for as I was ever sorry your lordship should fly with waxen wings, doubting Icarus's fortune; so for the growing up of your own feathers, be they ostriches or other kind, no man shall be more glad; and this is the axle-tree, whereupon I have turned, and shall turn. Which having already signified unto you by some near means, having so fit a messenger for mine own letter, I thought good to redouble also by writing. And so I commend you to God's protection. From Gray's Inn, etc.

FR. BACON.

July 19, 1600.

Sir Francis Bacon in recommendation of his service to the Earl of Northumberland, a few days before Queen Elizabeth's death.

May it please your good Lordship,

As the time of sowing of seed is known, but the time of coming up and disclosing is casual, or according to the season; so I am a witness to myself, that there hath been covered in my mind a long time a seed of affection and zeal towards your lordship, sown by the estimation of your

virtues, and your particular honours and favours, to my brother deceased, and to myself; which seed still springing, now bursteth forth into this profession. And to be plain with your lordship, it is very true, and no winds or noises of civil matters can blow this out of my head or heart, that your great capacity and love towards studies and contemplations, of a higher and worthier nature than popular, a nature rare in the world, and in a person of your lordship's quality almost singular, is to me a great and chief motive to draw my affection and admiration towards you: and therefore, good my lord, if I may be of any use to your lordship by my head, tongue, pen, means, or friends, I humbly pray you to hold me your own: and herewithal, not to do so much disadvantage to my good mind, nor partly, to your own worth, as to conceive, that this commendation of my humble service produceth out of any straits of my occasions, but merely out of an election, and indeed, the fulness of my heart. And so wishing your lordship all prosperity, I continue. ——

Sir Francis Bacon to Mr. Robert Kempe, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth.

Mr. Kempe, this alteration is so great, as you might justly conceive some coldness of my affection towards you, if you should hear nothing from me, I living in this place. It is in vain to tell you, with what a wonderful still and calm this wheel is turned round, which whether it be a remnant of her felicity that is gone, or a fruit of his reputation that is coming, I will not determine; for I cannot but divide myself, between her memory and his name. Yet we account it but as a fair morn before sun rising, before his majesty's presence; though, for my part, I see not whence any weather should arise. The papists are contained with fear enough, and hope too much. The French is thought

to turn his practice upon procuring some disturbance in Scotland, where crowns may do wonders But this day is so welcome to the nation, and the time so short, as I do not fear the effect. My lord of Southampton expecteth release by the next dispatch, and is already much visited, and much well wished. There is continual posting, by men of good quality towards the king, the rather, I think, because this spring time it is but a kind of sport. It is hoped, that as the state here hath performed the part of good attorneys, to deliver the king quiet possession of his kingdom; so the king will re-deliver them quiet possession of their places, rather filling places void, than removing men placed.

So, etc.

Sir Francis Bacon to Mr. David Foules in Scotland, upon the entrance of his Majesty's reign.

Sir, the occasion awaketh in me the remembrance of the constant and mutual good offices which passed between my good brother and yourself; whereunto, as you know, I was not altogether a stranger, though the time and design (as between brethren) made me more reserved. But well do I bear in mind the great opinion which my brother (whose judgment I much reverence) would often express to me of the extraordinary sufficiency, dexterity, and temper, which he had found in you, in the business and service of the king our sovereign lord. This latter bred in me an election, as the former gave an inducement, for me to address myself to you, and to make this signification of my desire, towards a mutual entertainment of good affection and correspondence between us, hoping that some good effect may result of it, towards the king's service, and that for our particulars, though occasion give you the precedence, of furthering my being known by good note unto the king; so no long time will intercede, before I, on my part, shall have some means given to requite your favours,

and verify your commendation. And so with my loving commendations (good Mr. Foules,) I leave you to God's goodness.

From Gray's Inn, this 25th of March.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Robert Cecil, after defeat of the Spaniards in Ireland, for reducing that kingdom to civility, with some reasons inclosed.

It may please your Honour,

As one that wisheth you all increase of honour, and as one that cannot leave to love the state, what interest soever I have, or may come to have in it, and as one that now this dead vacation time have some leisure "ad aliud agendum." I will presume to propound unto you that which though you cannot but see, yet I know not whether you apprehend and esteem it in so high a degree that is, for the best action of importation to yourself, of sound honour and merit to her majesty, and this crown, without ventosity or popularity, that the riches of any occasion, or the tide of any opportunity can possibly minister or offer. And that is, the causes of Ireland, if they be taken by the right handle: for if the wound be not ripped up again, and come to a festered sense, by new foreign succours, I think that no physician will go on much with letting blood "in declinatione morbi," but will intend to purge and corroborate. To which purpose, I send you mine opinion, without labour of words in the inclosed, and sure I am, that if you shall enter into the matter according to the vivacity of your own spirit, nothing can make unto you a more gainful return: for you shall make the queen's felicity complete, which now (as it is) is incomparable; and for yourself, you shall make yourself as good a patriot as you are thought a politic, and to have no less generous ends than dexterous delivery of yourself towards your ends; and as well to have true arts and

grounds of government, as the facility and felicity of practice and negociation; and to be as well seen in the periods and tides of estates, as in your own circle and way: than the which I suppose nothing can be a better addition and accumulation of honour unto you.

This, I hope, I may in privateness write, either as a kinsman, that may be bold, or as a scholar, that hath liberty of discourse, without committing of any absurdity. If not, I pray your honour to believe, I ever loved her majesty and the state, and now love yourself; and there is never any vehement love without some absurdity, as the Spaniard well saith, " desuario con la calentura." So desiring your honour's pardon, I ever continue, etc.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Treasurer, touching his speech in Parliament.

It may please your good Lordship,

I was sorry to find by your lordship's speech yesterday, that my last speech in parliament, delivered in discharge of my conscience, my duty to God, her majesty, and my country, was offensive: if it were misreported, I would be glad to attend your lordship, to disavow any thing I said not; if it were misconstrued, I would be glad to expound my words, to exclude any sense I meant not; if my heart be mis-judged by imputation of popularity, or opposition, I have great wrong, and the greater, because the manner of my speech did most evidently shew that I spake most simply, and only to satisfy my conscience, and not with any advantage or policy to sway the case, and my terms carried all signification of duty and zeal towards her majesty and her service. It is very true, that from the beginning, whatsoever was a double subsidy I did wish might for precedent's sake appear to be extraordinary, and for discontent's

sake might not have been levied upon the poorer sort, though otherwise I wished it as rising as I think this will prove, or more. This was my mind, I confess it: and therefore I most humbly pray your lordship, first, to continue me in your own good opinion, and then, to perform the part of an honourable good friend, towards your poor servant and ally, in drawing her majesty to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of my zeal, and to hold me in her majesty's favour, which is to me dearer than my life, and so, etc.

Your Lordship's most humble in all duty,

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Northampton.

[This letter is a transcript of the one to the Earl of Northumberland at page 24, except that in this the words "by my head, tongue, pen, means, or friends," are omitted.]

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, upon sending his book De Sapientia Veterum.

Mr. Matthew,

I do very heartily thank you for your letter of the 24th of August, from Salamanca; and in recompence thereof, I send you a little work of mine, that hath begun to pass the world. They tell me my Latin is turn'd into silver, and become current. Had you been here you had been my inquisitor, before it came forth. But I think the greatest inquisitor in Spain will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me, if I make no haste to believe, that the world should be grown to such an extasy, as to reject truth in philosophy, because the author dissenteth in religion; no more than they do by Aristotle, or Averrois. My great work goeth forward, and after my manner, I alter even when I add: so that nothing is finished till all be finished.

This I have written in the midst of a term and parliament, thinking no time so precious, but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a friend. And so, with my wonted wishes, I leave you to God's goodness.

From Gray's Inn, Febr. 17, 1610.

A Letter to the King, touching matter of Revenue and Profit.

It may please your Majesty,

I may remember what Tacitus saith, by occasion that Tiberius was often and long absent from Rome, "in Urbe, et parva et magna negotia imperatorem simul premunt." But saith he, "in Recessu, dimissis rebus minoris momenti, summæ rerum magnarum magis agitantur." This maketh me think, it shall be no incivility to trouble your majesty with business, during your abode from London, knowing your majesty's meditations are the principal wheel of your estate, and being warranted by a former commandment, which I received from you.

I do now only send your majesty these papers inclosed because I greatly desire so far forth to preserve my credit with you, as thus: that whereas lately (perhaps out of too much desire, which induceth too much belief,) I was bold to say, that I thought it as easy for your majesty to come out of want, as to go forth of your gallery, your majesty would not take me for a dreamer, or a projector. I send your majesty therefore some grounds of my hopes. And for that paper which I have gathered of increasements "sperate:" I beseech you to give me leave to think, that if any of the particulars do fail, it will be rather for want of workmanship in those that shall deal in them, than want of materials in the things themselves. The other paper hath many discarding cards; and I send it chiefly, that your majesty may be the less surprised by projectors, who pre-

tend sometimes great discoveries and inventions, in things that have been propounded and perhaps after a better fashion, long since. God Almighty preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble and
devoted servant and subject.

April 25, 1610.

A Letter to the King, touching the Lord Chancellor's place.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Your worthy chancellor, I fear, goeth his last day. God hath hitherto used to weed out such servants as grew not fit for your majesty, but now he hath gathered to himself a true sage or salvia out of your garden; but your majesty's service must not be mortal.

Upon this heavy accident, I pray your majesty, in all humbleness and sincerity, to give me leave to use a few words. I must never forget, when I moved your majesty for the attorney's place, it was your own sole act; more than that Somerset when he knew your majesty had resolved it, thrust himself into the business, for a fee. And therefore I have no reason to pray to saints.

I shall now again make obligation to your majesty, first, of my heart, then, of my service, thirdly, of my place of attorney, which I think is honestly worth £6000 per annum, and fourthly, of my place of the Star-chamber, which is worth £1600 per annum; and with the favour and countenance of a chancellor, much more.

I hope I may be acquitted of presumption, if I think of it, both because my father had the place, which is some civil inducements to my desire: and I pray God your majesty may have twenty no worse years in your greatness, than Queen Elizabeth had in her model, (after my father's placing,) and chiefly, because, if the chancellor's place went to the law, it was ever conferred upon some of the learned

counsel: and never upon a judge. For Audley was raised from king's serjeant, my father from attorney of the wars, Bromley from solicitor, Puckering from serjeant, Egerton from master of the rolls, having newly left the attorney's place. Now I beseech your majesty, let me put you the present case, truly. If you take my Lord Coke, this will follow; first, your majesty, shall put an over-ruling nature into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme: next, you shall blunt his industries in matter of finances, which seemeth to aim at another place. And lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hubbard, you shall have a judge at the upper end of your council-board, and another at the lower end: whereby your majesty will find your prerogative pent. For though there should be emulation between them, yet as legists they will agree, in magnifying that wherein they are best, he is no statesman, but an economist, wholly for himself. So as your majesty, (more than an outward form) will find little help in him, for the business. If you take my lord of Canterbury, I will say no more, but the chancellor's place requires a whole man. And to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height, is fit but for a king.

For myself, I can only present your majesty with "gloria in obsequio:" yet I dare promise, that if I sit in that place, your business shall not make such short turns upon you, as it doth; but when a direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed; and your majesty shall only be troubled with the true care of a king, which is to think what you would have done in chief, and not how, for the passages.

I do presume also, in respect of my father's memory, and that I have been always gracious in the lower house, I have interest in the gentlemen of England, and shall be able to do some good effect, in rectifying that body of

parliament men, which is "Cardo rerum." For let me tell your majesty, that that part of the chancellor's place which is to judge in equity, between party and party, that same "Regnum judiciale" (which since my father's time is but too much enlarged) concerneth your majesty least, more than the acquitting your conscience for justice. But it is the other parts of a moderator, amongst your council, of an overseer over your judges, of a planter of fit justices, and governors in the country, that importeth your affairs in these times most.

I will add also, that I hope by my care, the inventive part of your council will be strengthened, who now commonly, do exercise rather their judgments, than their inventions: and the inventive part cometh from projectors, and private men, which cannot be so well; in which kind my lord of Salisbury had a good method, if his ends had been upright.

To conclude, if I were the man I would be, I should hope, that as your majesty hath of late won hearts by depressing; you should in this leese no hearts by advancing. For I see your people can better skill of "Concretum" than "Abstractum," and that the waves of their affections flow rather after persons than things. So that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more good than twenty bills of grace.

If God call my lord, the warrants and commissions which are requisite for the taking the seal, and for the working with it, and for the reviving of warrants under his hand, which die with him, and the like, shall be in readiness. And in this time presseth more, because it is the end of a term, and almost the beginning of the circuits: so that the seal cannot stand still. But this may be done, as heretofore, by commission, till your majesty hath resolved of an officer. God ever preserve your majesty.

Febr. 12. 1615. Your Majesty's most humble subject, and bounden servant.

A Letter to the King, of my Lord Chancellor's amendment, and the difference begun between the Chancery and King's-Bench.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I do find (God be thanked) a sensible amendment in my lord chancellor; I was with him yesterday in private conference, about half an hour, and this day again, at such times as he did seal, which he endured well almost the space of an hour, though the vapour of the wax be offensive to him. He is free from a fever, perfect in his powers of memory and speech, and not hollow in his voice nor looks. He hath no panting, or labouring respiration, neither are his coughs dry or weak. But whosoever thinketh his disease to be but melancholy, maketh no true judgment of it, for it is plainly a formed and deep cough, with a pectoral surcharge, so that, at times, he doth almost "animam agere." I forbear to advertise your majesty of the care I took to have commissioners in readiness, because Master Secretary Lake hath let me understand he signified as much to your majesty. But I hope, there shall be no use of them for this time,

And as I am glad to advertise your majesty of the amendment of your chancellor's person, so I am sorry to accompany it with an advertisement of the sickness of your chancery court; though (by the grace of God) that cure will be much easier than the other. It is true, I did lately write to your majesty, that for the matter of "Habeas corpora" (which was the third matter in law you had given me in charge) I did think the communion of service between my lord chancellor, and my lord chief justice, in the great business of examination, would so join them, as they would not square at this time. But pardon me (I humbly pray your majesty) if I have too reasonable thoughts. And yet

that which happened the last day of the term concerning certain indictments, in the nature of Præmunire, preferred into the king's bench, but not found, is not so much as is noised abroad, (though I must say, it was "Omni tempere nimium, et hoc tempore alienum.") And therefore I beseech your majesty not to give any believing ear to reports, but to receive the truth from me that am your attorney general, and ought to stand indifferent for jurisdictions of all courts; which I account I cannot give your majesty now, because I was then absent, and some are now absent, which are properly and authentically to inform me, touching that which passed. Neither let this any way disjoint your other business; for there is a time for all things, and this very accident may be turned to good; not that I am of opinion, that that same cunning maxim of "Separa et Impera," which sometimes holdeth in persons, can well take place in jurisdiction; but because some good occasion by this excess may be taken, to settle that which would have been more dangerous, if it had gone on, by little and little. God preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble subject,
and most bounden servant.

Febr. 15th 1615.

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, touching the difference between the Courts of Chancery and King's-Bench.

Sir,

I received this morning from you two letters by the same bearer, the one written before the other, both after his majesty had received my last. In this difference between the two courts of chancery and king's bench (for so I had rather take it at this time, than between the persons of my lord chancellor, and my lord chief justice,) I marvel not, if

rumour get way of true relation; for I know fame hath swift wings, especially that which hath black feathers; but within these two days (for sooner I cannot be ready) I will write to his majesty both the narrative truly, and my opinion sincerely, taking much comfort, that I serve such a king, as hath God's property, in discerning truly of men's hearts. I purpose to speak with my lord chancellor this day, and so to exhibit that cordial of his majesty's grace, as I hope this other accident will rather rouse and raise his spirits, than deject him, or incline him to a relapse; mean while, I commend the wit of a mean man that said this other day, well (saith he) next term you shall have an old man come with a besom of worm-wood in his hand, that will sweep away all this. For it is my lord chancellor's fashion, especially towards the summer, to carry a posy of worm-wood. I write this letter in haste, to return the messenger with it. God keep you, and long and happily may you serve his majesty.

Your true and affectionate servant.

Feb. 10, 1615.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, I humbly thank you for your inward letter: I have burned it as you commanded, but the flame it hath kindled in me will never be extinguished.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King, concerning the Præmunire in the King's-bench against the Chancery.

It may please your Most Excellent Majesty.

I was yesterday in the afternoon, with my lord chancellor, according to your commandment, which I received by the Mr. of the Horse, and find the old man well comforted, both towards God and towards the world. And that same middle comfort, which is a divine and humane, proceeding from your majesty, being God's lieutenant on

earth, I am persuaded hath been a great cause, that such a sickness hath been portable to such an age, I did not fail in my conjecture. that this business of the chancery hath stirred him. He sheweth to despise it, but yet he is full of it, and almost like a young duellist that findeth himself behind hand.

I will now (as your majesty requireth) give you a true relation of that which passed; neither will I decline your royal commandment, for delivering my opinion also; though it be a tender subject to write on. But I that account my being but an accident to my service, will neglect no duty upon self-safety. First, it is necessary I let your majesty know the ground of the difference between the two courts, that your majesty may the better understand the narrative.

27 E. 3. Cap. 1. There was a statute made 27 Ed. 3. Cap. 1. which (no doubt) in the principal intention thereof, was ordained against those that sued to Rome, wherein there are words somewhat general, against any that questioneth or impeacheth any judgment given in the king's courts, in any other courts. Upon these doubtful words (other courts) the controversy groweth; for the sounder interpretation taketh them to be meant of those courts which though locally they were not held at Rome, or where the pope's chair was, but here within the realm, yet in their jurisdiction had their dependency upon the court of Rome; as were the court of the legate here, and the courts of the archbishops and bishops, which were then but subordinate judgment seats, to that high tribunal of Rome.

And for this construction, the opposition of the words, (if they be well observed) between the king's courts and other courts, maketh very much; for it importeth as if those other courts were not the king's courts. Also the main scope of the statute fortifieth the same; and lastly, the practice of many ages. The other interpretation (which cleaveth to the letter, expoundeth the king's courts to be

the courts of law only, and other courts to be courts of equity, as the chancery, exchequer-chamber, dutchy, etc. though this also flieth indeed from the letter; for that all these are the king's courts.

4 H. 4. Cap. 23. There is also another statute, which is but a simple prohibition, and not with a penalty of Præmunire as the other is, that after judgments given in the king's court, the parties shall be in peace, except the judgments be undone, by error, or attaint, which is a legal form of reversal. And of this also, I hold the sounder interpretation to be, to settle possessions against disturbances, and not to take away remedy in equity, where those judgments are obtained "ex rigore juris," and against good conscience.

But upon these two statutes, there hath been a late conceit in some, that if a judgment pass at the common law against any, he may not after sue for relief in chancery; and if he do, both he and his council, and his solicitor, yea and the judge, in equity, himself, are within the danger of those statutes. There your majesty hath the true state of the question, which I was necessarily to shew you first, because your majesty calleth for this relation, not as news, but as business. Now to the historical part; it is the course of the king's bench, that they give in charge to the grand jury offences of all natures to be presented within Middlesex, where the said court is; and the manner is to enumerate them, as it were in articles. This was done by justice Crooke, the Wednesday before the term ended: and that article, "if any man after a judgment given had drawn the said judgment to a new examination in any other court," was by him especially given in charge, which had not used to be given in charge before. It is true, it was not solemnly dwelt upon, but as it were, thrown in amongst the rest.

The last day of the term (and that which all men con-

demn, the supposed last day of my lord chancellor's life) there were two indictments preferred of "Præmunire," for suing in chancery after judgment at common law; The one by Richard Glandvile, the other by William Allen; the former against Courtney the party in chancery, Gibb the counsellor, and Deurst the clerk. The latter against alderman Bowles, and Humfrey Smith, parties in chancery, serjeant Moore the counsellor, Elias Wood solicitor in the cause, and Sir John Tyndall master of the chancery, and an assessor to my lord chancellor. For the cases themselves, it were too long to trouble your majesty with them; but this I will say, if they were set on that preferred them, they were the worst workmen that ever were that set them on; for there could not have been chosen two such causes, to the honour and advantage of the chancery, for the justness of the decrees, and the foulness and scandal, both of fact and person, in those that impeach the decrees.

The grand jury, consisting (as it seemeth) of very substantial and intelligent persons, would not find the bills, notwithstanding that they were much clamoured by the parties, and twice sent back by the court; and in conclusion, resolutely 17 of 19 found an "Ignoramus;" wherein, for that time, I think "Ignoramus" was wiser than those that knew too much.

Your majesty will pardon me, if I be sparing in delivering to you some other circumstances of aggravation, and concurrences of some like matters the same day, as if it had been some fatal constellation. They be not things so sufficiently tried, as I dare put them into your ear.

For my opinion, I cannot but begin with this preface, that I am infinitely sorry that your majesty is thus to put to salve and cure, not only accidents of time, but errors of servants. For I account this a kind of sickness of my lord Coke's, that comes almost in as ill a time, as the sickness of my lord chancellor. And as I think it was one of the

wisest parts that ever he played, when he went down to your majesty to Royston, and desired to have my lord chancellor joined with him. So this was one of the weakest parts that ever he played, to make all the world perceive that my lord chancellor is severed from him at this time.

But for that which may concern your service, which is my end (leaving other men to their own ways.) First, my opinion is plainly, that my lord Coke, at this time, is not to be disgraced, both because he is so well habituate for that which remaineth of these capital causes, and also for that which I find is in his breast touching your finances, and matter of repair of your estate. And (if I might speak it) as I think it were good his hopes were at an end in some kind, so I could wish they were raised in some other. On the other side, this great and public affront, not only to the reverend and well deserving person of your chancellor (and at a time when he was thought to lie a dying, which was barbarous) but to your high court of chancery (which is the court of your absolute power) may not (in my opinion) pass lightly, nor end only in some formal atonement; but use is to be made thereof, for the settling of your authority, and strengthening of your prerogative, according to the rules of monarchy. Now to accomodate and reconcile these advices, which seem almost opposite.

First, your majesty may not see it (though I confess it be suspicious) that my lord Coke was any way aforehand privy to that which was done, or that he did set it, or animate it, but only took the matter as it came before him, and that his error was only that at such a time he did not divert it in some good manner.

Secondly, if it be true (as is reported) that any of the puisne judges did stir this business, or that they did openly revile and menace the jury for doing their conscience (as they did honestly and truly) I think that judge is worthy to lose his place. And to be plain with your majesty, I do

not think there is any thing, a greater "Polycreston, ad multa utile," to your affairs, than upon a just and fit occasion, to make some example against the presumption of a judge, in causes that concern your majesty; whereby the whole body of those magistrates may be contained in better awe; and it may be, this will light upon no unfit subject, of a person that is rude, and that no man cares for.

Thirdly, if there be no one so much in fault (which I cannot yet affirm, either way, and there must be a just ground, God forbid else) yet I should think, that the very presumption of going so far in so high a cause deserveth to have that done, which was done in this very case, upon the indictment of serjeant Heale, in Queen Elizabeth's time, that the judges should answer it upon their knees before your majesty, or your council, and receive a sharp admonition; at which time also, my Lord Wrey, being then chief justice, slipt the collar, and was forborn.

Fourthly, for the persons themselves, Glanvile and Allen, which are base fellows, and turbulent, I think there will be discovered and proved against them (besides the preferring of the bill) such combination and contemptuous speeches and behaviour, as there will be good ground to call them, and perhaps some of their petty counsellors at law, into the star-chamber.

In all this which I have said, your majesty may be pleased to observe, that I do not engage you I now forbear. But two things I wish to be done; the one, that your majesty take this occasion much in the main point of the jurisdiction, for which I have a great deal of reason, which to redouble unto all your judges your ancient and true charge and rule; that you will endure no innovating in the point of jurisdiction: but will have every court impaled within their own presidents, and not assume to themselves new powers, upon conceits and inventions of law: the other that in these high causes, that touch upon state and

monarchy, your majesty give them straight charge, that upon any occasions intervenient, hereafter, they do not make the vulgar party to their contestations, by public handling them before they have consulted with your majesty, to whom the reglement of those things appertaineth. To conclude, I am not without hope, that your majesty's managing this business, according to your great wisdom, unto which I acknowlege my self not worthy to be card-holder or candle-holder, will make profit of this accident, as a thing of God's sending,

Lastly, I may not forget to represent to your Majesty, that there is no thinking of arraignments until these things be somewhat accommodated, and some outward and superficial reconciliation, at least, made between my lord chancellor and my lord chief justice; for this accident is a banquet to all Somerset's friends, But this is a thing that falleth out naturally of itself, in respect of the judges going circuit, and my lord chancellor's infirmity, with hope of recovery. And although this protraction of time may breed some doubt of mutability, yet I have lately learned, out of an excellent letter of a certain king, that the sun sheweth sometimes watery to our eyes, but when the cloud is gone, the sun is as before. God preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble subject

Febr. 21, 1615. and most bounden servant.

Your majesty's commandment speaketh for pardon of so long a letter; which yet I wish may have a short continuance, and be punished with fire.

Sir Francis Bacon the King's Attorney, to the King, touching the proceeding with Somerset.

[Inserted in Vol. VI. p. 219.]

Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, to Sir George Villiers concerning the proceeding with Somerset.

[Inserted in Vol. VI. p. 225.]

Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, giving Account of an Examination taken of Somerset at the Tower.

[Inserted in Vol. VI. p. 227.]

Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, to Sir George Villiers, touching the Proceeding with Somerset.

[Inserted in Vol. VI. p. 233.]

Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, to Sir George Villiers, of Account and Advice to his Majesty touching Somerset's Arraignment.

[Inserted in Vol. VI. p. 235.]

Sir Francis Bacon the King's Attorney, and some great Lords Commissioners, concerning the persuasion used to the Lord of Somerset to a frank Confession.

[Inserted in Vol. VI. p. 238.]

Sir Francis Bacon to the King, upon some inclination of his Majesty, signified to him, for the Chancellor's Place.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

The last day when it pleased your majesty to express yourself towards me in favour, far above that I can deserve, or could expect, I was surprised by the prince's coming in; I most humbly pray your majesty, therefore, to accept these few lines of acknowledgment.

I never had great thoughts for my self, farther than to maintain those great thoughts which I confess I have for your service. I know what honour is, and I know what the times are; but I thank God with me my service is the principal, and it is far from me, under honourable pretences,

to cover base desires, which I account them to be, when men refer too much to themselves, especially serving such a king, I am afraid of nothing, but that the master of the horse, your excellent servant, and myself, shall fall out about this, who shall hold your stirrup best; but were your majesty mounted, and seated without difficulties and distaste in your business, as I desire and hope to see you, I should "ex animo" desire to spend the decline of my years in my studies, wherein also I should not forget to do him honour, who besides his active and politic virtues, is the best pen of kings, and much more the best subject of a pen. God ever preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble subject,
and more and more obliged servant.

April 1, 1616.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir George Villiers, of Advice concerning Ireland, from Gorhambury to Windsor.

Sir,

Because I am uncertain whether his majesty will put to a point some resolutions touching Ireland, now at Windsor: I thought it my duty to attend his majesty by my letter, and thereby to supply my absence, for the renewing of some former commissions for Ireland, and the framing of a new commission for the wards, and the alienations, which appertain properly to me, as his majesty's attorney, and have been accordingly referred by the lords, I will undertake that they are prepared with a greater care, and better application to his majesty's service, in that kingdom, than heretofore they have been; and therefore of that I say no more. And for the instructions of the new deputy, they have been set down by the two secretaries, and read to the board, and being things of an ordinary nature, I do not see but they may pass. But there have been three propositions and councils which have been stirred, which seem to me of

very great importance, wherein I think myself bound to deliver to his majesty my advice, and opinion, if they should now come in question. The first is touching the recusant magistrates of the towns of Ireland, and the commonalties themselves, and their electors, what shall be done; which consultation ariseth from the late advertisements from the two lord justices, upon the instance of the two towns Limerick and Kilkenny; in which advertisements, they represent the danger only without giving any light for the remedy, rather warily for themselves, than agreeable to their duties and places. In this point, I humbly pray his majesty to remember, that the refusal is not of the Oath of Allegiance, (which is not exacted in Ireland,) but of the Oath of Supremacy, which cutteth deeper into matter of conscience.

Also that his majesty, will out of the depth of his excellent wisdom and providence, think, and as it were calculate with himself, whether time will make more for the cause of religion in Ireland, and be still more and more propitious, or whether differing remedies will not make the case more difficult. For if time give his majesty the advantage, what needeth precipitation of extreme remedies; but if the time will make the case more desperate, then his majesty cannot begin too soon. Now, in my opinion, time will open and facilitate things for reformation of religion there, and not shut up or lock out the same. For first, the plantations going on, and being principally of protestants, cannot but mate the other party in time. Also his majesty's care in placing good bishops, and good divines; in amplifying the college there, and looking to the education of wards, and such like; as they are the most natural means, so are they like to be the most effectual and happy, for the weeding out of popery, without using the temporal sword; so that I think I may truly conclude, that the ripeness of time is not yet come.

Therefore my advice is, in all humbleness, that this hazardous course of proceeding to tender the oath to the magistrates of towns, proceed not, but die by degrees. And yet to preserve the authority and reputation of the former council, I would have somewhat done, which is, that there be a proceeding to seizure of liberties, but not by any act of power, but by "quo warranto," or "scire facias," which is a legal course, and will be the work of three or four terms; by which time the matter will be somewhat cool.

But I would not (in no case) that the proceeding should be with both the towns which stand now in contempt, but with one of them only, chusing that which shall be most fit. For, if his majesty proceed with both, then all the towns that are in the like case will think it a common cause, and that it is but their case to day, and their own to morrow. But if his majesty proceed but with one, the apprehension and terror will not be so strong; for, they may think, it may be their case to be spared, as well as prosecuted. And this is the best advice that I can give to his majesty, in this strait; and of this opinion seemed my lord chancellor to be.

The second proposition is this, it may be, his majesty will be moved to reduce the number of his council of Ireland, (which is now almost fifty) to twenty, or the like number, in respect that the greatness of the number doth both imbase the authority of the council, and divulge the business. Nevertheless, I hold this proposition to be rather specious, and solemn, than needful at this time; for certainly, it will fill the state full of discontentment, which, in a growing and unsettled state, ought not to be. This I could wish, that his majesty would appoint a select number of counsellors there, which might deal in the improvement of his revenue, (being a thing not to pass through too many hands,) and the said selected number should have days of sitting by themselves, at which the rest of the council should

not be present; which being once settled, then other principal business of state may be handled at these sittings; and so the rest begin to be disused, and yet retain their countenance, without murmur, or disgrace.

The third proposition, as it is moved, seemeth to be pretty, if it can keep promise; for it is this, that a means may be found to re-inforce his majesty's army by five hundred, or a thousand men, and that without any penny increase of charge. And the means should be, that there should be a commandment of a local removing, and transferring some companies from one province to another, whereupon it is supposed, that many that are planted in house and lands, will rather lose their entertainment, than remove; and thereby new men may have their pay, yet the old be mingled in the country, for the strength thereof. In this proposition two things may be feared; the one, discontent of those that shall be put off; the other, that the companies should be stuffed with novices, (tirones) instead of "veterani." I wish therefore, that this proposition be well debated, before it be admitted. Thus having performed that which duty binds me to, I commend you to God's best preservation.

Your most devoted and bounden servant.

July 5, 1616.

The Copy of a Letter, conceived to be written to the late Duke of Buckingham, when he first became a favourite to King James, by Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam, and Viscount St. Alban; containing some advices unto the Duke, for his better direction in that eminent place of the Favourite; drawn from him, at the intreaty of the Duke himself, by much importunity.

[Inserted in Vol. VI. p. 400.]

Sir Francis Bacon's Considerations, touching the Queen's Service in Ireland.

[Inserted in Vol. V. p. 187.]

Sir Francis Bacon, to the Earl of Northumberland.

It may please your Lordship,

I would not have lost this journey; and yet I have not that I went for: for I have had no private conference to purpose with the king, no more hath almost any other English; for the speech of his majesty admitteth with some nobleman, is rather matter of grace, than matter of business: with the attorney he spake, urged by the treasurer of Scotland, but no more than needs must. After I had received his majesty's first welcome, and was promised private access, yet not knowing what matter of service your lordship's letter carried, for I saw it not, and knowing that primeness in advertisement is much, I chose rather to deliver it to Sir Thomas Hoskins, than to let it cool in my hands, upon expectation of access. Your lordship shall find a prince the farthest from vain-glory that may be, and rather like a prince of the ancient form than of the latter time; his speeches swift and cursory, and in the full dialect of his nation, and in speech of business short, in speech of discourse large: he affecteth popularity by gracing them that are popular, and not by any fashions of his own; he is thought somewhat general in his favours; and his virtue of access is rather because he is much abroad, and in press, than he giveth easy audience: he hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and nations, faster perhaps than policy will well bear. I told your lordship once before my opinion, that methought his majesty rather asked counsel of the time past, than of the time to come. But it is yet early to ground any settled opinion. For other particularities I refer to conference, having in these generals gone farther in these

tender arguments than I would have done, were not the bearer hereof so assured. So I continue your, etc.

FR. BACON.

A Discourse touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers by Francis Bacon.

[Inserted Vol. I. p. 339.]

Sir Francis Bacon to the King.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

In the midst of my misery, which is rather assuaged by remembrance, than by hope, my chiefest worldly comfort is, to think, that since the time I had the first vote of the lower house of parliament for commissioner of the union; until the time that I was this parliament chosen by both houses, for their messenger to your majesty in the petition of religion, (which two, were my first and last services,) I was evermore so happy, as to have my poor services graciously accepted by your majesty, and likewise not to have had any of them miscarry in my hands. Neither of which points I can any ways take to myself, but ascribe the former to your majesty's goodness, and the latter to your prudent directions, which I was ever careful to have, and keep. For, as I have often said to your majesty, I was towards you but as a bucket, and a cistern to draw forth, and conserve, and yourself was the fountain. Unto this comfort of nineteen years' prosperity, there succeeded a comfort even in my greatest adversity, somewhat of the same nature, which is, that in those offences wherewith I was charged, there was not any one that had special relation to your majesty, or any your particular commandments. For as towards Almighty God, there are offences against the first and second table, and yet all against God; so with the servants of kings, there are offences more

immediate against the sovereign, although all offences against law are also against the king. Unto which comfort there is added this circumstance, that as my faults were not against your majesty otherwise than as all faults are, so my fall is not your majesty's act, otherwise than as all acts of justice are yours. This I write not to insinuate with your majesty, but as a most humble appeal to your majesty's gracious remembrance, how honest and direct you have ever found me in your service, whereby I have an assured belief, that there is in your majesty's princely thoughts, a great deal of serenity and clearness to me, your majesty's now prostrate, and cast down servant.

Neither (my most gracious sovereign,) do I by this mentioning of my services, lay claim to your princely grace and bounty, though the privilege of calamity do bear that form of petition. I know well, had they been much more, they had been but my bounden duty; nay, I must also confess, that they were, from time to time, far above my merit, super-rewarded by your majesty's benefits, which you heaped upon me. Your majesty was, and is, that man to me, that raised and advanced me nine times, thrice in dignity, and six times inoffice. The places indeed were the painfullest of all your service, but then they had both honour and profit, and the then profits might have maintained my now honour, if I had been wise. Neither was your majesty's immediate liberality wanting towards me, in some gifts, if I may hold them. All this I do most thankfully acknowledge, and do herewith conclude, that for any thing arising from myself, to move your eye of pity towards me, there is much more in my present misery than in my past services; save that the same your majesty's goodness, that may give relief to the one, may give value to the other.

And indeed if it may please your majesty, this theme of my misery is so plentiful, as it need not be coupled with

any thing else. I have been somebody, by your majesty's singular and undeserved favour, even the prime officer of your kingdom. Your majesty's arm hath been often over mine in council, when you presided at the table, so near I was. I have borne your majesty's image in metal, much more in heart, I was never, in nineteen years' service, chidden by your majesty, but contrariwise, often overjoyed, when your majesty would sometimes say; "I was a good husband for you, though none for myself;" sometimes, "That I had a way to deal in business, 'suavibus modis,' which was the way which was most according to your own heart;" and other most gracious speeches of affection and trust, which I feed on till this day. But why should I speak of these things, which are now vanished, but only the better to express my downfall.

For now it is thus with me; I am a year and a half old in misery, though (I must ever acknowledge) not without some mixture of your majesty's grace and mercy. For I do not think it possible, that any you once loved should be totally miserable. My own means, through mine own improvidence, are poor and weak, little better than my father left me. The poor things which I have had from your majesty, are either in question, or at courtesy: my dignities remain marks of your past favour, but yet burthens withal of my present fortune. The poor remnants which I had of my former fortunes, in plate or jewels, I have spread upon poor men, unto whom I owed, scarce leaving myself bread. So as to conclude, I must pour out my misery before your majesty, so far as to say, "Si deseris tu, perimus."

But as I can offer to your majesty's compassion, little arising from myself to move you, except if be my extreme misery, which I have truly laid open; so looking up to your majesty yourself, I should think I committed Cain's fault, if I should despair: your majesty is a king, whose heart is

as unscrutable, for secret motions of goodness, as for depth of wisdom. You are creator-like, factive, and not destructive; you are a prince in whom I have ever noted an aversion against any thing that savoured of a hard heart; as on the other side, your princely eye was wont to meet with any motion that was made on the relieving part. Therefore, as one that hath had happiness to know your majesty near hand, I have (most gracious sovereign) faith enough for a miracle, much more for a grace: that your majesty will not suffer your poor creature to be utterly defaced, nor blot that name quite out of your book, upon which your sacred hand hath been so oft for new ornaments and additions. Unto this degree of compassion, I hope God above (of whose mercy towards me, both in my prosperity, and adversity, I have had great testimonies and pledges, though mine own manifold and wretched unthankfulness might have averted them) will dispose your princely heart, already prepared to all piety. And why should I not think, but that thrice noble prince, who would have pulled me out of the fire of a sentence, will help to pull me (if I may use that homely phrase) out of the mire of an abject and sordid condition in my last days? And that excellent favourite of yours (the goodness of whose nature contendeth with the greatness of his fortune, and who counteth it a prize, a second prize to be a good friend, after that prize which he carrieth to be a good servant) will kiss your hands with joy, for any work of piety you shall do for me? And as all commiserating persons (specially such as find their hearts void of malice) are apt to think, that all men pity them; I assure myself, that the lords of the council (who out of their wisdom and nobleness cannot but be sensible of human events) will, in this way which I go for the relief of my estate, further and advance your majesty's goodness towards me. For there is a kind of fraternity between great men that are, and those that have

been, being but the several tenses of one verb; nay, I do farther presume, that both houses of parliament will love their justice the better if it end not in my ruin. For I have been often told by many of my lords, (as it were, in excusing the severity of the sentence,) that they knew they left me in good hands. And your majesty knoweth well, I have been all my life long acceptable to those assemblies, not by flattery, but by moderation, and by honest expressing of a desire to have all things go fairly and well.

But (if it may please your majesty) for saints, I shall give them reverence, but no adoration. My address is to your majesty, the fountain of goodness: your majesty shall, by the grace of God, not feel that in gift, which I shall extremely feel in help; for my desires are moderate, and my courses measured to a life orderly and reserved; hoping still to do your majesty honour in my way. Only I most humbly beseech your majesty, to give me leave to conclude with those words which necessity speaketh; help me, dear sovereign lord and master, and pity me so far, as I, that have borne a bag be not now in my age, forced in effect, to bear a wallet; nor I, that desire to live to study, may not be driven to study to live. I most humbly crave pardon of a long letter, after a long silence, God of Heaven ever bless, preserve, and prosper your majesty.

Your Majesty's poor ancient servant and beadsman,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, returned with Postils, of the King's own hand.

It may please your most excellent Majesty.

Your majesty hath put upon me a work of providence in this great cause, which is to break and distinguish future events into present cases, and so to present them to

your royal judgment, that in this action which hath been carried with so great prudence, justice, and clemency, there may be (for that which remaineth) as little surprise as is possible, but that things duly foreseen may have their remedies and directions in readiness; wherein I cannot forget what the poet Martial saith; "O! quantum est subitis casibus ingenium!" signifying, that accident is many times more subtle than foresight, and over-reacheth expectation: and besides, I know very well the meanness of my own judgment, in comprehending or forecasting what may follow.

It was your majesty's pleasure also, that I should couple the suppositions with my opinion in every of them, which is a harder task; but yet your majesty's commandment requireth my obedience, and your trust giveth me assurance.

I will put the case which I wish; that Somerset should make a clear confession of his offences, before he be produced to trial.

REX. I say with Apollo, "Media tutius itur," if it may stand with law; and if it cannot, when I shall hear that he confesseth, I am to make choice of the first, or the last.

In this case, it seemeth your majesty will have a new consult. The points whereof will be (1) Whether your majesty will stay the trial, and so save them both from the stage, and that public ignominy. Or (2) Whether you will (or may fitly by law) have the trial proceed, and stay or reprieve the judgment, which saveth the lands from forfeiture, and the blood from corruption. Or (3) Whether you will have both trial and judgment proceed, and save the blood only, not from corrupting, but from spilling.

These be the depths of your majesty's mercy which I may not enter into; but for honor and reputation, they have these grounds.

That the blood of Overbury is already revenged by divers executions.

That confession and penitency are the foot-stools of mercy, adding this circumstance likewise, that the former offenders did none of them make a clear confession.

That the great downfall of so great persons carrieth, in itself, a heavy punishment, and a kind of civil death, although their lives should not be taken.

All which may satisfy honor, for sparing their lives.

But if your majesty's mercy should extend to the first degree, which is the highest, of sparing the stage and the trial; then three things are to be considered.

REX. This article cannot be mended in point thereof.

First, that they make such a submission or deprecation, as they prostrate themselves, and all that they have, at your majesty's feet, imploring your mercy.

Secondly, that your majesty, in your own wisdom, do advise what course you will take, for the utter extinguishing of all hope of resuscitating of their fortunes and favour; whereof if there should be the least conceit, it will leave in men a great deal of envy and discontent.

And lastly, whether your majesty will not suffer it to be thought abroad, that there is a cause of

farther examination of Somerset, concerning matters of estate, after he shall begin once to be a confessant; and so make as well a politic ground, as a ground of clemency, for farther stay.

And for the second degree of proceeding to trial, and staying judgment, I must better inform myself by precedents, and advise with my lord chancellor.

The second case is, if that fall out which is likest (as things stand, and which we expect) which is, that the lady confess: and that Somerset himself plead not guilty, and be found guilty.

REX. If stay of judgment can stand with the law, I would even wish it in this case; in all the rest this article cannot be mended.

In this case, first, I suppose your majesty will not think of any stay of judgment, but that the public process of justice pass on.

Secondly, for your mercy to be extended to both, for pardon of their execution, I have partly touched, in the considerations applied to the former case; whereunto may be added, that as there is ground of mercy for her, upon her penitency and free confession, and will be much more upon his finding guilty, because the malice on his part will be thought the deeper source of the offence; so there will be ground for mercy, on his part, upon the nature of the proof, because it rests chiefly upon presumptions. For certainly, there may be an evidence so balanced, as it may have sufficient matter for the conscience of the peers to convict him, and yet leave sufficient matter in the conscience of a king,

upon the same evidence, to pardon his life; because the peers are astringed by necessity, either to acquit or condemn; but grace is free. And for my part, I think the evidence in this present case will be of such a nature.

Thirdly, It shall be my care so to moderate the manner of charging him, as it might make him not odious beyond the extent of mercy.

REX. That danger is well to be foreseen, lest he upon the one part commit unpardonable errors, and I on the other part seem to punish him in the spirit of revenge.

Lastly, all these points of mercy and favour are to be understood with this limitation, if he do not, by his contemptuous and insolent carriage at the bar, make himself uncapable and unworthy of them.

The third case is, if he should stand mute, and will not plead, whereof your majesty knoweth there hath been some secret question.

In this case, I should think fit, that, as in public, both myself and chiefly my lord chancellor (sitting then as lord steward of England) should dehort and deter him from that desperation; so nevertheless, that as much should be done for him, as was done for Weston, which was to adjourn the court for some days, upon a christian ground, that he may have time to turn from that mind of destroying himself; during which time your majesty's farther pleasure may be known.

REX. This article cannot be amended.

The fourth case is that, which I should be very sorry should happen; but it is a future contingent, that is, if the peers should acquit him, and find him not guilty.

REX. This is so also.

In this case, the lord steward must be provided what to do. For as it hath been never seen (as I conceive it) that there should be any rejecting of the verdict, or any respiting of the judgment of the acquittal; so on the other side, this case requireth, that because there be many high and heinous offences (though not capital) for which he may be questioned in the star chamber, or otherwise, that there be some touch of that in general, at the conclusion, by my lord steward of England. And that therefore he be remanded to the Tower, as close prisoner.

For matter of examination, or other proceedings, my lord chancellor, with my advice, hath set down,

To morrow, being Monday, for the re-examination of the lady.

Wednesday next, for the meeting of the judges, concerning the evidence.

Thursday, for the examination of Somerset himself, according to your majesty's instructions.

Which three parts, when they shall be performed, I will give your majesty advertisement with speed, and in the mean time be glad to receive from your majesty (whom it is my part to inform truly) such directions, or significations of your pleasure, as this advertisement may induce, and that with speed, because the time cometh on. Well remembering who is the person, whom your majesty admitted to this secret; I have sent this letter open unto him, that he may take your majesty's times to report it, or shew it unto

you, assuring myself that nothing is more firm than his trust, tried to your majesty's commandments;

Your Majesty's most humble and most bounden subject and servant.

April 28, 1616.

Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney General, to the Master of the Horse, upon the sending of his Bill for Viscount, sc.

Sir,

I send you the bill for his majesty's signature, reformed according to his majesty's amendments, both in the two places (which I assure you, were altered with great judgment) and in the third place, which his majesty termed a question only. But he is an idle body, that thinketh his majesty asketh an idle question; and therefore his majesty's questions are to be answered, by taking away the cause of the question, and not by replying.

For the name, his majesty's will is a law in those things; and to speak the truth, it is a well-sounding, and noble name, both here and abroad: and being your proper name, I will take it for a good sign, that you shall give honour to your dignity, and not your dignity to you. Therefore I have made it Viscount Villiers, and for your barony, I will keep it for an earldom: for though the other had been more orderly, yet that is as usual, and both alike good in law.

For Roper's place, I would have it by all means dispatched; and therefore I marvel it lingereth. It were no good manners, to take the business out of my lord treasurer's hands, and therefore I purpose to write to his lordship, if I hear not from him first, by Mr. Deckome; but if I hear of any delay, you will give me leave (especially since the king named me) to deal with Sir Joseph Roper myself; for

neither I, nor my lord treasurers can deserve any great thanks in this business of yours considering the king hath spoken to Sir Joseph Roper, and he hath promised; and besides, the thing itself is so reasonable, as it ought to be as soon done as said, I am now gotten into the country to my house, where I have some little liberty, to think of that I would think of, and not of that which other men hourly break their head withal, as it was at London. Upon this you may conclude, that most of my thoughts are to his majesty, and then you cannot be far off. God ever keep you, and prosper you: I rest always,

Your true and most dutiful Servant.

The 5th of August, one of the happiest days.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir George Villiers, upon the sending his patent for Viscount Villiers to be signed.

Sir,

I have sent you now your patent, creation of Lord Bletchly of Bletchly, and of Viscount Villiers. Bletchly is your own, and I liked the sound of the name better than Whaddon; but the name will be hid, for you will be called Viscount Villiers. I have put them in a patent, after the manner of the patent for earls, where baronies are joined; but the chief reason was, because I would avoid double prefaces, which had not been fit; nevertheless the ceremony of robing, and otherwise, must be double.

And now because I am in the country, I will send you some of my country fruits, which with me are good meditations; which, when I am in the city, are choked with business.

After that the king shall have watered your new dignities, with the bounty of the lands which he intends you, and that some other things concerning your means, which

are now likewise in intention, shall be settled upon you, I do not see, but you may think your private fortunes established; and therefore it is now time, that you should refer your actions to the good of your sovereign, and your country. It is the life of an ox, or beast, always to eat, and never exercise; but men are born (and specially Christian men) not to cram in their fortunes but to exercise their virtues; and yet the other hath been unworthy, and (thanks be to God) sometimes the unlucky humour of great persons in our times. Neither will your future fortune be the farther off; for assure yourself, that fortune is of a woman's nature, and will sooner follow by slighting, than by too much wooing. And in this dedication of yourself to the public, I recommend unto you principally, that which I think, was never done since I was born; and which, because it is not done, hath bred almost a wilderness and solitude in the king's service; which is, that you countenance and encourage, and advance able men, in all kinds, degrees, and professions. For in the time of the Cecils, the father and the son, able men were by design and of purpose suppressed: and though of late, choice goeth better, both in church and commonwealth, yet money and turn-serving, and cunning canvasses and importunity, prevaileth too much. And in places of moment, rather make able and honest men yours, than advance those that are otherwise, because they are yours. As for cunning and corrupt men, you must (I know) sometimes use them, but keep them at a distance; and let it appear rather, that you make use of them, than that they lead you. Above all depend wholly (next unto God) upon the king, and be ruled (as hitherto you have been) by his instructions, for that is best for yourself. For the king's care and thoughts for you are according to the thoughts of a great king; whereas your thoughts concerning yourself, are, and ought to be, according to the thoughts of a modest man. But let me not weary you, the sum is,

that you think goodness the best part of greatness, and that you remember whence your rising comes, and make return accordingly. God keep you.

Aug. 12. 1616.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King about a Certificate of my Lord Coke's.

It may please your excellent Majesty.

I send your majesty enclosed, my Lord Coke's answers, I will not call them rescripts, much less oracles. They are of his own hand, and offered to me (as they are) in writing, not required by me to have them set down in writing, though I am glad of it, for my own discharge. I thought it my duty, as soon as I received them, instantly to send them to your majesty, and forbear, for the present, to speak farther of them. I, for my part, (though this Moscovia weather be a little too hard for my constitution,) was ready to have waited upon your majesty this day, all respects set aside; but my lord treasurer, in respect of the season, and much other business, was willing to save me. I will only conclude, touching these papers, with a text divided; I cannot say "Oportuit hæc fieri," but I may say, "Finis autem nondum." God preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble, and
devoted subject and servant.

Feb. 14. at 12 o'clock.

I humbly pray your Majesty, to keep the papers safe.

Sir Francis Bacon to Mr. Toby Matthews.

Mr Matthews,

Do not think me forgetful, or altered towards you: but if I should say, I could do you any good, I should make my power more than it is. I do fear that which I am right sorry for, that you grow more impatient and busy than at

first, which makes me exceedingly fear the issue of that which seemeth not to stand at a stay. I myself am out of doubt, that you have been miserably abused, when you were first seduced; and that which I take in compassion, others may take in severity. I pray God, that understands us all better than we understand one another, continue you, as I hope he will, at least, within the bounds of loyalty to his majesty, and natural piety to your country. And I intreat you much, to meditate sometimes upon the effect of superstition in this last powder-treason, fit to be tabled and pictured in the chambers of meditation, as another hell above the ground; and well justifying the censure of the heathen, that "Superstition is far worse than Atheism," by how much it is less evil to have no good opinion of God at all, than such as are impious towards his divine majesty and goodness. Good Mr. Matthews, receive yourself back from these courses of perdition. Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue

Your etc.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Salisbury.

It may please your good Lordship,

I am not ignorant how mean a thing I stand for, in desiring to come into the Solicitor's place: for I know well, it is not the thing it hath been, time having wrought an alteration, both in the profession, and in that special place. Yet because I think it will increase my practice, and that it may satisfy my friends, and because I have been voiced to it, I would be glad it were done. Wherein I may say to your lordship, in the confidence of your poor kinsman, and a man by you advanced, "in idem fer opem qui spem dedisti:" for I am sure, it was not possible for a man living to have received from another more significant and comfortable words of hope: your lordship being pleased to

tell me, during the course of my last service, that you would raise me, and, that when you are resolved to raise a man, you were more careful of him, than himself, and that what you had done for me in my marriage, was a benefit for me, but of no use to your lordship; and therefore I might assure myself, you would not leave me there, with many like speeches; which I know too well my duty to take any other hold of, than the hold of a thankful remembrance: and I know, and all the world knoweth, that your lordship is no dealer of holy-water, but noble and real; and on my part, on sure ground, that I have committed nothing that may deserve any alteration; and if I cannot observe you as I would, your lordship will impute it to my want of experience, which I shall gather better, when I am once settled.

And therefore my hope is, your lordship will finish a good work, and consider, that time groweth precious, and that I am now "vergentibus annis:" and although I know your fortune is not to want a hundred such as I am, yet I shall be ever ready to give you my best and first fruits, and to supply, as much as in me lieth, a worthiness by thankfulness.

FR. BACON.

Lord Chancellor Bacon to the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty.

I dare not presume any more to reply upon your majesty, but reserve my defence till I attend your majesty at your happy return, when I hope verily to approve myself not only a true servant to your majesty, but a true friend to my lord of Buckingham; and for the times also, I hope to give your majesty a good account, though distance of place may obscure them. But there is one part of your majesty's letter, that I could be sorry to take time to answer; which is, that your majesty conceives, that whereas I wrote that

the heighth of my lord's fortune might make him secure, I mean, that he was turned proud, or unknowing of himself. Surely, the opinion I have ever had of my lord (whereof your majesty is best witness) is far from that. But my meaning was plain and simple, that his lordship might, through his great fortune, be the less apt to cast and foresee the unfaithfulness of friends, and the malignity of enemies, and accidents of times. Which is a judgment (your majesty knoweth better than I) that the best authors make of the best, and best tempered spirits "ut sunt res humanæ;" insomuch as Guicciardini maketh the same judgment (not of a particular person,) but of the wisest state of Europe, the senate of Venice, when he saith, their prosperity had made them secure, and under-weighers of perils. Therefore I beseech your majesty, to deliver me in this, from any the least imputation to my dear and noble lord and friend. And so expecting, that that sun which when it went from us, left us cold weather, and now it is returned towards us hath brought with it a blessed harvest, will, when it cometh to us, dispel and disperse all mists and mistakings.

July 31. 1617. I am, etc.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon to the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I do many times, with gladness, and for a remedy of my other labours, revolve in my mind the great happiness which God (of his singular goodness) hath accumulated upon your majesty every way, and how complete the same would be, if the state of your means were once rectified, and well ordered; your people military and obedient, fit for war, used to peace; your church illightened with good preachers, as an heaven of stars; your judges learned, and learning from you, just, and just by your example; your nobility in a right distance between crown and people, no oppressors

of the people, no over-shadowers of the crown; your council full of tributes of care, faith, and freedom; your gentlemen, and justices of peace, willing to apply your royal mandates to the nature of their several counties, but ready to obey; your servants in awe of your wisdom, in hope of your goodness; the fields growing every day, by the improvement and recovery of grounds, from the desert to the garden; the city grown from wood to brick, your sea-walls, or Pomerium of your island, surveyed, and in edifying; your merchants embracing the whole compass of the world, east, west, north, and south; the times give you peace, and yet offer you opportunities of action abroad; and lastly, your excellent royal issue entaileth these blessings and favours of God to descend to all posterity. It resteth therefore, that God having done so great things for your majesty, and you for others, you would do so much for yourself, as to go through (according to your good beginnings) with the rectifying and settling of your estate and means, which only is wanting, "Hoc rebus defuit unum." I therefore, whom only love and duty to your majesty, and your royal line, hath made a financier, do intend to present unto your majesty a perfect book of your estate, like a perspective-glass, to draw your estate nearer to your sight; beseeching your majesty to conceive, that if I have not attained to do that I would do, in this, which is not proper for me, nor in my element, I shall make your majesty amends in some other thing, in which I am better bred.

Jan. 2. 1618. God ever preserve, etc.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon to the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Time hath been, when I have brought unto you "Gemitum Columbæ" from others, now I bring it from myself. I fly unto your majesty with the wings of a dove,

which, once within these seven days, I thought would have carried me a higher flight. When I enter into myself, I find not the materials of such a tempest as is come upon me. I have been, (as your majesty knoweth best) never author of any immoderate counsel, but always desired to have things carried "suavibus modis." I have been no avaricious oppressor of the people. I have been no haughty, or intolerable, or hateful man, in my conversation or carriage: I have inherited no hatred from my father, but am a good patriot born. Whence should this be; for these are the things that use to raise dislikes abroad.

For the House of Commons, I began my credit there, and now it must be the place of the sepulture thereof. And yet this parliament, upon the message touching religion, the old love revived, and they said, I was the same man still, only honesty was turned into honour.

For the upper-house, even within these days, before these troubles, they seemed as to take me into their arms, finding in me ingenuity, which they took to be the true straight line of nobleness, without crooks or angles.

And for the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the books of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice; howsoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times.

And therefore I am resolved, when I come to my answer, not to trick my innocency, (as I writ to the lords) by cavillations or voidances; but to speak to them the language that my heart speaketh to me, in excusing, extenuating, or ingenuous confessing; praying God to give me the grace to see to the bottom of my faults, and that no hardness of heart do steal upon me, under shew of more neatness of conscience, than is cause.

But not to trouble your majesty any longer, craving

pardon for this long mourning letter; that which I thirst after, as the hart after the streams, is, that I may know, by my matchless friend that presenteth to you this letter, your majesty's heart (which is an abyssus of goodness, as I am an abyssus of misery) towards me. I have been ever your man, and counted myself but an usufructuary of myself, the property being yours. And now making myself an oblation, to do with me as may best conduce to the honour of your justice, the honour of your mercy, and the use of your service, resting as

clay in your majesty's gracious hands,

Mar. 25. 1620. FR. ST. ALBAN. CAN.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King, upon the sending unto him a beginning of a History of His Majesty's Time.

It may please your Majesty,

Hearing that you are at leisure to peruse story, a desire took me to make an experiment what I could do in your majesty's times which, being but a leaf or two, I pray your pardon, if I send it for your recreation, considering, that love must creep where it cannot go. But to this I add these petitions: first, that if your majesty do dislike any thing, you would conceive I can amend it upon your least beck. Next, that if I have not spoken of your majesty encomiastically, your majesty will be pleased only to ascribe it to the law of an history, which doth not clutter together praises upon the first mention of a name, but rather disperseth them, and weaveth them throughout the whole narration. And as for the proper place of commemoration, (which is in the period of life,) I pray God I may never live to write it. Thirdly, that the reason why I presumed to think of this oblation, was, because whatsoever my disability be, yet I shall have that advantage which

almost no writer of history hath had, in that I shall write the times, not only since I could remember, but since I could observe. And lastly, that it is only for your majesty's reading.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Chancellor, touching the History of Britain.

It may please your good Lordship,

Some late act of his majesty, referred to some former speech which I have heard from your lordship, bred in me a great desire, and by strength of desire a boldness, to make an humble proposition to your lordship, such as in me can be no better than a wish; but if your lordship should apprehend it, it may take some good and worthy effect. The act I speak of, is the order given by his majesty for the erection of a tomb or monument for our late sovereign Queen Elizabeth; wherein I may note much, but this at this time, that as her majesty did always right to his majesty's hopes, so his highness doth, in all things, right to her memory; a very just and princely retribution. But from this occasion, by a very easy ascent, I passed farther, being put in mind, by this representative of her person, of the more true and more perfect representative, which is, of her life and government. For as statues and pictures are dumb histories, so histories are speaking pictures; wherein (if my affection be not too great, or my reading too small,) I am of this opinion, that if Plutarch were alive to write lives by parallels, it would trouble him, for virtue and fortune both, to find for her a parallel amongst women. And though she was of the passive sex, yet her government was so active, as, in my simple opinion, it made more impression upon the several states of Europe, than it received from thence. But I confess unto your lordship, I could not stay here, but went a little farther into the consideration of the times which have passed since King Henry the Eighth; wherein I find the strangest

variety, that in so little number of successions of any hereditary monarchy, hath ever been known; the reign of a child, the offer of an usurpation, though it were but as a diary ague; the reign of a lady married to a foreigner, and the reign of a lady, solitary and unmarried: So that as it cometh to pass, in massive bodies, that they have certain trepidations, and waverings, before they fix and settle; so it seemeth, that by the providence of God, this monarchy (before it was to settle in his majesty and his generations, in which I hope it is now established for ever,) hath had these preclusive changes in these barren princes. Neither could I contain myself, here, (as it is easier for a man to multiply, than to stay a wish,) but calling to remembrance the unworthiness of the History of England, in the main continuance thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of Scotland, in the latest and largest author that I have seen; I conceived, it would be honour for his majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come, so it were joined in history for the times past; and that one just and complete history were compiled of both nations. And if any man think, it may refresh the memory of former discord, he may satisfy himself with the verse, "Olim hæc meminisse juvabit." For the case being now altered, it is matter of comfort and gratulation, to remember former troubles. Thus much, if it may please your lordship, was in the optative mood, and it was time that I should look a little into the potential; wherein the hope that I received was grounded upon three observations. The first, of these times, which flourish in learning, both of art, and language; which giveth hope, not only that it may be done, but that it may be well done. Secondly, I do see that which all the world sees in his majesty, a wonderful judgment in learning, and a singular affection towards learning, and works which are of the mind, and not of the hand. For there cannot be the like honour

sought in building of galleries, and planting of elms along highways, and the outward ornaments wherein France now is busy, (things rather of magnificence than of magnanimity), as there is in the uniting of states, pacifying of controversies, nourishing and augmenting of learning and arts, and the particular action appertaining unto these; of which kind Cicero judged truly, when he said to Cæsar, "Quantum operibus tuis detrahet vetustas, tantum addet laudibus." And lastly, I called to mind, that your lordship, at some times, hath been pleased to express unto me a great desire, that something of this matter should be done, answerable indeed to your other noble and worthy courses and actions; joining, and adding unto the great services towards his majesty (which have in small compass of time been performed by your lordship) other great deservings, both of the church, and common-wealth, and particulars: so as the opinion of so great and wise a man doth seem to me a good warrant, both of the possibility, and worth of the matter. But all this while, I assure myself, I cannot be mistaken by your lordship, as if I sought an office or employment for myself; for no man knows better than your lordship, that if there were in me any faculty thereunto, yet neither my course of life, nor profession would permit it. But because there be so many good painters, both for hand and colours, it needeth but encouragement and instructions to give life unto it. So in all humbleness, I conclude my presenting unto your lordship this wish, which if it perish, it is but a loss of that which is not. And so craving pardon that I have taken so much time from your lordship, I remain, etc.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King, about the Pardon of the Parliament's Sentence.

Most gracious and dread Sovereign,

Before I make my petition to your majesty I make my prayers to God above, "pectore ab imo," that if I have

held any thing so dear as your majesty's service, (nay) your heart's ease, and your honour, I may be repulsed with a denial. But if that hath been the principal with me, that God, who knoweth my heart, would move your majesty's royal heart to take compassion of me, and to grant my desire.

I prostrate myself at your majesty's feet; I, your ancient servant, now sixty-four years old in age, and three years and five months old in misery. I desire not from your majesty means, nor place, nor employment; but only, after so long a time of expiation, a complete and total remission of the sentence of the upper house, to the end that blot of ignominy may be removed from me, and from my memory with posterity, that I die not a condemned man, but may be to your majesty, as I am to God, "nova creatura." Your majesty hath pardoned the like to Sir John Bennet, between whose case and mine (not being partial to myself, but speaking out of the general opinion) there was as much difference, I will not say, as between black and white, but as between black and grey, or ash-coloured; look therefore down (dear sovereign) upon me also in pity. I know your majesty's heart is inscrutable for goodness; and my lord of Buckingham was wont to tell me, you were the best natured man in the world; and it is God's property, that those he hath loved, he loveth to the end. Let your majesty's grace, in this my desire, stream down upon me, and let it be out of the fountain and spring-head, and "ex mero motu," that living or dying, the print of the goodness of King James may be in my heart, and his praises in my mouth. This my most humble request granted, may make me live a year or two happily; and denied, will kill me quickly. But yet the last thing that will die in me will be the heart and affection of

Your Majesty's most humble and true devoted Servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

July 30, 1624.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King, upon Presenting his Discourse, touching the Plantation of Ireland.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I know no better way how to express my good wishes of a new-year to your majesty, than by this little book, which in all humbleness I send you. The style is a style of business, rather than curious or elaborate, and herein I was encouraged by my experience of your majesty's former grace, in accepting of the like poor field-fruits, touching the union. And certainly I reckon this action as a second brother to the union, for I assure myself, that England, Scotland, and Ireland well united, is such a trefoil as no prince except yourself (who are the worthiest) weareth in his crown, "si potentia reducatur in actum." I know well that for me to beat my brains about these things, they be "majora quam pro fortuna," but yet they be "minora quam pro studio et voluntate." For as I do yet bear an extreme zeal to the memory of my old mistress, Queen Elizabeth, to whom I was rather bound for her trust than for her favour; so I must acknowledge myself more bound to your majesty, both for trust and favour; whereof I will never deceive the one, as I can never deserve the other. And so in all humbleness kissing your majesty's sacred hands, I remain——

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Salisbury, upon sending him one of his Books of Advancement of Learning.

It may please your good Lordship,

I present your lordship with a work of my vacant time, which if it had been more, the work had been better. It appertaineth to your lordship (besides my particular respects) in some propriety, in regard you are a great governor in a

province of learning, and (that which is more) you have added to your place affection towards learning, and to your affection judgment, of which the last I could be content were (for the time) less, that you might the less exquisitely censure that which I offer to you. But sure I am, the argument is good, if it had lighted upon a good author; but I shall content myself to awake better spirits, like a bell-ringer which is first up, to call others to church. So, with my humble desire of your lordship's good acceptation, I remain,

The Lord Chancellor Bacon to the Lords.

It may please your Lordships,

I shall humbly crave at your lordships' hands a benign interpretation of that which I shall now write; for words that come from wasted spirits, and an oppressed mind, are more safe in being deposited in a noble construction, than in being circled with any reserved caution. Having made this as a protection to all which I shall say, I will go on, but with a very strange entrance (as may seem to your lordships at the first;) for in the midst of a state of as great affliction as I think a mortal man can endure, (honour being above life) I shall begin with the professing gladness in some things.

The first is, that hereafter the greatness of a judge or magistrate shall be no sanctuary, or protection to him against guiltiness; which, in few words, is the beginning of a golden world.

The next, that after this example, it is like that judges will fly from any thing in the likeness of corruption, (though it were at a great distance) as from a serpent; which tendeth to the purging of the courts of justice, and reducing them to their true honour and splendour. And in these two points, God is my witness, (though it be my fortune to be the anvil, upon which these good effects are

beaten and wrought,) I take no small comfort. But to pass from the motions of my heart, whereof God is only judge, to the merits of my cause, whereof your lordships are only judges, under God, and his lieutenant, I do understand, there hath been expected from me, heretofore, some justification, and therefore I have chosen one only justification instead of all others, out of the justification of Job; for after the clear submission and confession which I shall now make unto your lordships, I hope I may say, and justify with Job, in these words, "I have not hid my sin as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosom." This is the only justification I will use: it resteth therefore, that without fig-leaves, I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge, that having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the house, but enough to inform my conscience and memory, I find matter both sufficient and full, to move me to desert the defence, and to move your lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I trouble your lordships by singling out particulars, which I think may fall off: "Quid te exempta juvat spinis de millibus una?" Neither will I prompt your lordships to observe upon the proofs, where they come not home, or the scruples touching the credit of the witnesses: Neither will I present unto your lordships, how far a defence might in divers things extenuate the offence, in respect of the time, or manner of the gift, or the like circumstances; but only leave these things to spring out of your own noble thoughts, and observations of the evidence, and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God shall put in your minds and so submit myself wholly to your piety and grace.

And now that I have spoken to your lordships as judges, I shall say a few words unto you as peers and prelates, humbly commending my cause to your noble minds, and magnanimous affections.

Your lordships are not only judges, but parliamentary judges, you have a farther extent of arbitrary power, than other courts: and if you be not tied to the ordinary course of courts or precedents, in point of strictness and severity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation. And yet if any thing I should move might be contrary to your honourable and worthy ends to introduce a reformation, I should not seek it, but herein I beseech your lordships to give me leave to tell you a story. Titus Manlius took his son's life for giving battle against the prohibition of his general. Not many years after, the like severity was pursued by Papirius Cursur the dictator, against Quintus Maximus, who being upon the point to be sentenced, was by the intercession of some principal persons of the senate spared; whereupon Livy maketh this grave and gracious observation. "Neque minus firmata est disciplina militaris periculo Quinti Maximi, quam miserabili supplicio Titi Manlii." The discipline of war was no less established by the questioning only of Quintus Maximus, than by the punishment of Titus Manlius. And the same reason is of the reformation of justice, for the questioning of men of eminent place hath the same terror, though not the same rigor with the punishment. But my case stayeth not there; for my humble desire is, that his majesty would take the seal into his hands, which is a great downfall, and may serve, I hope, in itself, for an expiation of my faults.

Therefore if mercy and mitigation be in your lordships' power, and do no ways cross your ends, why should I not hope of your favours and commiserations? Your lordships may be pleased to behold your chief pattern, the king our sovereign, a king of incomparable clemency, and whose heart is inscrutable for wisdom and goodness. You well remember, that there sat not these hundred years before in your house a prince (and never such a prince) whose presence deserveth to be made memorable by records and

acts, mixed of mercy and justice. Yourselves are either nobles, (and compassion ever beateth in the veins of noble blood,) or reverend prelates, who are the servants of him that would not break the bruised reed nor quench smoking flax.

You all sit upon a high stage, and therefore cannot but be more sensible of the changes of human condition, and of the fall of any from high places. Neither will your lordships forget that there are "vitia temporis," as well as "vitia hominis," and that the beginning of reformation hath a contrary power to the pool of Bethseda, for that had strength only to cure him that first cast in, and this hath strength to hurt him only that is first cast in; and for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no farther.

Lastly, I assure myself, your lordships have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body; and one, that in this very session had some taste of your loving affections, which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace which now in the conclusion will more appear. And therefore, my humble suit to your lordships is, that my voluntary confession may be my sentence, and the loss of the seal my punishment, and that your lordships will spare any farther sentence, but recommend me to his majesty's grace and pardon for all that is past. And so, etc.

Your Lordships, etc.
FRANCIS ST. ALBAN. CAN.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon to the Duke.

My very good Lord.

My lord of Suffolk's cause is this day sentenced. My lord, and his lady, fined at 30,000l. with imprisonment in the Tower at their own charges. Bingley at 2000l. and committed to the Fleet, Sir Edward Coke did his part, I have not heard him do better; and began with a fine of an

100,000l. But the judges first, and most of the rest, reduced it as before. I do not dislike that things pass moderately, and all things considered it is not amiss, and might easily have been worse. There was much speaking of interceding for the king's mercy, which (in my opinion) was not so proper for a sentence: I said, in conclusion, that mercy was to come "ex mero motu," and so left it. I took some other occasion pertinent to do the king honour, by shewing how happy he was in all other parts of his government, save only in the manage of his treasure by these officers.

I have sent the king a new bill for Sussex, for my lord of Nottingham's certificate was true, and I told the judges of it before, but they neglected it. I conceive the first man (which is newly set down) is the fittest. God ever preserve and keep you, etc.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, upon the same occasion, of sending his Book of Advancement of Learning.

May it please your good Lordship,

I have finished a work touching the Advancement or setting forward of Learning, which I have dedicated to his majesty, the most learned of a sovereign, or temporal prince, that time hath known. And upon reason not unlike, I humbly present one of the books to your lordship, not only as a chancellor of an university, but as one that was excellently bred in all learning, which I have ever noted to shine in all your speeches and behaviours. And therefore your lordship will yield a gracious aspect to your first love, and take pleasure in the adorning of that wherewith yourself are so much adorned. And so humbly desiring your favourable acceptation thereof, with signification of my humble duty, I remain.

A Letter of the like Argument to the Lord Chancellor.

May it please your good Lordship,

I humbly present your lordship with a work, wherein as you have much commandment over the author, so your lordship hath also great interest in the argument. For to speak without flattery, few have like use of learning, or like judgment in learning, as I have observed in your lordship. And again, your lordship hath been a great planter of learning, not only in those places in the church which have been in your own gift, but also in your commendatory vote, no man hath more constantly held, "detur digniori," and therefore both your lordship is beholden to learning, and learning beholden to you. Which maketh me presume, with good assurance, that your lordship will accept well of these my labours, the rather because your lordship in private speech hath often begun to me, in expressing your admiration of his majesty's learning, to whom I have dedicated this work; and whose virtue and perfection in that kind did chiefly move me to a work of this nature. And so with signification of my most humble duty and affection towards your Lordship, I remain, etc.

Sir Francis Bacon, of the like Argument, to the Earl of Northampton, with request to present the Book to his Majesty.

It may please your good Lordship,

Having finished a work touching the Advancement of Learning, and dedicated the same to his sacred majesty, whom I dare avouch (if the records of time err not) to be the learnedest king that hath reigned; I was desirous in a kind of congruity, to present it by the learnedest counsellor in this kingdom, to the end, that so good an argument, lightening

upon so bad an author, might receive some reparation by the hands into which, and by which, it should be delivered. And therefore I make it my humble suit to your lordship to present this mean, but well meant writing to his majesty, and with it my humble and zealous duty; and also my like humble request of pardon, if I have too often taken his name in vain, not only in the dedication, but in the voucher of the authority of his speeches and writings. And so I remain, &c.

Sir Francis Bacon, his Letter of request to Doctor Playfer, to translate the Book of Advancement of Learning into Latin.

Mr. Doctor Playfer,

A great desire will take a small occasion to hope, and put in trial that which is desired. It pleased you a good while since, to express unto me, the good liking which you conceive of my book, of the Advancement of Learning, and that more significantly (as it seemed to me) than out of courtesy, or civil respect. Myself, as I then took contentment in your approbation thereof, so I should esteem and acknowledge, not only my contentment increased, but my labours advanced, if I might obtain your help in that nature which I desire. Wherein before I set down in plain terms my request unto you, I will open myself, what it was which I chiefly sought, and propounded to myself, in that work, that you may perceive that which I now desire to be pursuant thereupon, if I do not err. (For any judgment that a man maketh of his own doings, had need be spoken with a "Si nunquam fallit imago,") I have this opinion, that if I had sought my own commendation, it had been a much fitter course for me, to have done as gardeners use to do, by taking their seeds and slips, and rearing them first into plants, and so uttering them in pots, when they are in

flower, and in their best state. But forasmuch as my end was merit of the state of learning, to my power, and not glory; and because my purpose was rather to excite other men's wits, than to magnify my own, I was desirous to prevent the incertainness of my own life and times, by uttering rather seeds than plants; nay and farther, as the proverb is, by sowing with the basket, than with the hand. Wherefore since I have only taken upon me to ring a bell, to call other wits together, (which is the meanest office,) it cannot but be consonant to my desire, to have that bell heard as far as can be. And since that they are but sparks, which can work but upon matter prepared, I have the more reason to wish, that those sparks may fly abroad, that they may the better find, and light upon those minds and spirits which are apt to be kindled. And therefore, the privateness of the language considered wherein it is written, excluding so many readers, (as on the other side, the obscurity of the argument, in many parts of it, excludeth many others;) I must account it a second birth of that work, if it might be translated into Latin, without manifest loss of the sense and matter. For this purpose, I could not represent to myself any man, into whose hands I do more earnestly desire that work should fall, than yourself; for by that I have heard and read, I know no man a greater master in commanding words to serve matter. Nevertheless I am not ignorant of the worth of your labours, whether such as your place and profession imposeth on you, or such as your own virtue may, upon your voluntary election take in hand. But I can lay before you no other persuasions, than either the work itself may affect you with, or the honour of his majesty, to whom it is dedicated, or your particular inclination to myself; who as I never took so much comfort in any labours of my own, so I shall never acknowledge myself more obliged in any thing to the labour of another, than in that which shall assist this. Which your

labour if I can, by my place, profession, means, friends, travail, word, deed, requite unto you, I shall esteem myself so straitly bound thereunto, as I shall be ever most ready, both to take and seek occasions of thankfulness. And so leaving it, nevertheless, "Salva amicitia" (as reason is) to your own good liking, I remain etc.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Thomas Bodley, upon sending him his Book of the Advancement of Learning.

Sir,

I think no man may more truly say with the psalm, "multum incola fuit anima mea." For I do confess, since I was of any understanding, my mind hath in effect, been absent from that I have done, and in absence errors are committed, which I do willingly acknowledge; and amongst the rest, this great one that led the rest; that knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book, than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes, for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the pre-occupation of my mind. Therefore, calling myself home, I have now for a time enjoyed myself, where likewise I desire to make the world partaker; my labours (if so I may term that which was the comfort of my other labours) I have dedicated to the king, desirous if there be any good in them; it may be as fat of a sacrifice incensed to his honour; and the second copy I have sent unto you, not only in good affection, but in a kind of congruity, in regard of your great and rare desert of learning: for books are the shrines where the saint is, or is believed to be. And you having built an ark, to save learning from deluge, deserve, in propriety, any new instrument or engine, whereby learning should be improved or advanced. So, etc.

Sir Thomas Bodley to Sir Francis Bacon, upon his new Philosophy.

Sir,

As soon as the term was ended, supposing your leisure was more than before, I was coming to thank you two or three times, rather chusing to do it by word than letter; but I was still disappointed of my purpose, as I am at this present upon an urgent occasion, which doth tie me fast to Fulham, and hath now made me determine to impart my mind in writing. I think you know I have read your "Cogitata et visa;" which I protest, I have done with great desire, reputing it a token of your singular love, that you joined me with those your friends, to whom you would commend the first perusal of your draught; for which I pray give me leave to say but this unto you. First, that if the depth of my affection to your person and spirit, to your works and your words, and to all your ability, were as highly to be valued as your affection is to me, it might walk with your's arm in arm, and claim your love by just desert; but there can be no comparison, where our states are so uneven, and our means to demonstrate our affections, so indifferent; insomuch as for mine own, I must leave it to be prized in the nature that it is; and you shall evermore find it most addicted to your worth. As touching the subject of your book, you have set afoot so many noble speculations, as I cannot chuse but wonder, and I shall wonder at it ever, that your expence of time considered in your public profession, which hath in a manner no acquaintance with scholarship or learning, you should have culled forth the quintessence, and sucked up the sap of the chiefest kind of learning. For howsoever in some points, you do vary altogether from that which is and hath been ever the received doctrine of our schools,

and was always by the wisest (as still they have been deemed) of all nations and ages, adjudged the truest; yet it is apparent, in those very points, in all your proposals and plots in that book, you shew yonrself a master workman. For myself, I must confess, and I speak it ingenuè, that for the matter of learning, I am not worthy to be reckoned in the number of smatterers; and yet, because it may seem that being willing to communicate your treatise with your friends, you are likewise willing to listen to whatsoever I or others can except against it; I must deliver unto you, for my private opinion, that I am one of the crew, that say there is, and we profess a greater holdfast of certainty in your sciences, than you by your discourse will seem to acknowledge: for where, at first, you do object the ill success and errors of practitioners of physic, you know as well, they do proceed of the patient's unruliness, for not one of an hundred doth obey his physician in their own indisposition; for few are able in that kind to explicate themselves; or by reason their diseases are by nature incurable, which is incident, you know, to many sort of maladies; or for some other hidden cause, which cannot be discovered by course of conjecture; howbeit, I am full of this belief, that as physic is ministered now-a-days by physicians, it is much ascribed to their negligence or ignorance, or other touch of imperfection, that they speed no better in their practice: for few are found, of that profession, so well instructed in their art, as they might by the precepts which their art doth afford; which though it be defective in regard of such perfection, yet for certain it doth flourish with admirable remedies, such as tract of time hath taught by experimental effects, and are the open high-way to that knowledge that you recommend. As for alchemy, and magic, some conclusions they have that are worthy the preserving: but all their skill is so accompanied with subtilties and guiles, as both the crafts

and the crafts-masters are not only despised, but named with derision. Whereupon to make good your principal assertion, methinks you should have drawn the most of your examples from that which is taught in the liberal sciences, not by picking out cases that happen very seldom, and may by all confession be subject to reproof, but by controlling the generals, and grounds, and eminent positions and aphorisms, which the greatest artists and philosophers have from time to time defended; for it goeth for current among all men of learning, that those kinds of arts which clerks in times past did term Quadrivials, confirm their propositions by infallible demonstrations. And likewise in Trivials, such lessons and directions are delivered unto us, as will effect very near, or as much altogether, as every faculty doth promise. Now in case we should concur to do as you advise, which is, to renounce our common notions, and cancel all our theorems, axioms, rules, and tenets, and so to come babes "ad regnum naturæ," as we are willed by scriptures to come "ad regnum cœlorum." There is nothing more certain, in my understanding, than that it would instantly bring us to barbarism, and after many thousand years, leave us more unprovided of theorical furniture, than we are at this present: For that were indeed to become "Tabula rasa," when we shall leave no impression of any former principles, but be driven to begin the world again, to travel by trials of actions and sense, (which are your proofs by particulars) what to place in "intellectu" for our general conceptions, it being a maxim of all men's approving; "in intellectu nihil esse quod non prius fuit in sensu." And so in appearance it would befall us, that till Plato's year be come about, our insight in learning would be of less reckoning than now it is accounted. As for that which you inculcate, of a knowledge more excellent than now is among us, which experience might produce, if we would but essay to extract it out of nature by particular

probations, it is no more upon the matter, but to incite us unto that which, without instigation, by a natural instinct men will practise of themselves; for it cannot in reason be otherwise thought, but that there are infinite, in all parts of the world, (for we may not in this case confine our cogitations within the bounds of Europe) which embrace the course which you purpose, with all diligence and care, that any ability can perform. For every man is born with an appetite of knowledge, wherewith he cannot be glutted, but still as in a dropsy, thirst after more. But yet, why men should so hearken to any such persuasions, as wholly to abolish those settled opinions, and general theorems, to which they have attained by their own and their ancestors experience, I see nothing alleged to induce me to think it. Moreover, I may speak, as I suppose, with good probability, that if we should make a mental survey, what is like to be effected all the world over; those five or six inventions which you have selected, and imagined to be but of modern standing, would make but a slender shew among so many hundreds of all kinds of natures, which are daily brought to light by the enforcement of wit or casual events, and may be compared, or partly preferred, above those that you have named. But were it so here, that all were admitted that you can require, for the augmentation of our knowledge, and that all our theorems and general positions were utterly extinguished with a new substitution of others in their places, what hope may we have of any benefit of learning by this alteration? assuredly, as soon as the new are brought *ad* [illegible] by the inventors and their followers, by an interchangeable course of natural things, they will fall by degrees in oblivion to be buried, and so in continuance to perish outright; and that perchance upon the like to your present pretences, by proposal of some means to advance all our knowledge to a higher pitch of perfectness; for still the same defects that antiquity found, will reside in mankind, and therefore other

issues of their actions, devices, and studies, are not to be expected than is apparent by records, were in former times observed. I remember here a note which Paterculus made of the incomparable wits of the Grecians and Romans, in their flourishing state; that there might be this reason of their notable downfall, in their issue that came after, because by nature, "Quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in summum, difficilisque in perfecto mora est;" insomuch that men perceiving that they could not go farther, being come to the stop, they turned back again of their own accord, forsaking those studies that are most in request, and betaking themselves to new endeavours, as if the thing they sought had been by prevention fore-prized by others. So it fared in particular with the eloquence of that age, that when their successors found that hardly they could equal, by no means excel their predecessors, they began to neglect the study thereof, and speak for many hundred years in a rustical manner, till this later resolution brought the wheel about again, by inflaming gallant spirits to give the onset a fresh, with straining and striving to climb unto the top and height of perfection, not in that gift alone, but in every other skill in any part of learning. For I do not hold it any erroneous conceit to think of every science, that as now they are professed, so they have been before in all precedent ages, though not alike in all places, nor at all times alike in one and the same; but according to the changes and turning of times with a more exact and plain, or with a more rude and obscure kind of teaching.

And if the question should be asked, what proof I have of it; I have the doctrine of Aristotle, and of the deepest learned clerks, of whom we have any means to take any notice; that as there is of other things, so there is of sciences, "ortus et interitus:" which is also the meaning (if I should expound it) of "nihil novum sub sole," and is as well to be applied "ad facta," as "ad dicta; ut nihil neque

dictum neque factum, quod non est dictum aut factum prius." I have farther for my warrant, that famous complaint of Solomon to his son, against the infinite making of books in his time, of which, in all congruity, great part were of observations and instructions in all kind of literature, and of those there is not now so much as one pamphlet (only some parcels of the Bible excepted) remaining to posterity. As then there was not in like manner to be found any footing of millions of authors that were long before Solomon, and yet we must give credit to that which he affirmed; that whatsoever was then or before, it could never be truly pronounced of it, "Behold, this is new." Whereupon I must for my final conclusion infer, seeing all the endeavours, study, and knowledge of mankind, in whatsoever art or science, have ever been the same as they are at this present, though full of mutabilities, according to the changes and accidental occasions of ages and countries, and clerks' dispositions; which can never but be subject to intention and remission, both in their devices and practices of their knowledge. If now we should accord in opinion with you; first, to condemn our present knowledge of doubt and incertitude (which you confer but by averment) without other force of argument, and then to disclaim all our axioms and maxims, and general assertions that are left by tradition from our elders to us; which, (for so it is to be pretended) have passed all probations of the sharpest wits that ever were Abecedarii, by the frequent spelling of particulars, to come to the notice of new generals, and so afresh to create new principles of sciences, the end of all would be, that when we should be dispossessed of the learning which we have, all our consequent travail will but help us in a circle, to conduct us to the place from whence we set forwards, and bring us to the happiness to be restored "in integrum," which will require as many ages as have marched before us, to be perfectly

achieved. And this I write, with no dislike of increasing our knowledge with new-found devices, (which is undoubtedly a practice of high commendation) in regard of the benefit they will yield for the present, that the world hath ever been, and will for ever continue, very full of such devisers; whose industry that way hath been very obstinate and eminent, and hath produced strange effects, above the reach and the hope of men's common capacities; and yet our notions and theorems have always kept in grace both with them, and with the rarest that ever were named among the learned.

By this you see to what boldness I am brought by your kindness; that (if I seem to be too saucy in this contradiction) it is the opinion that I hold of your noble disposition, and of the freedom in these cases, that you will afford your special friend, that hath induced me to it. And although I myself, like a carrier's horse, cannot balk the beaten way, in which I have been trained, yet since it is my censure of your Cogitata that I must tell you, to be plain, you have very much wronged yourself and the world, to smother such a treasure so long in your coffer: for though I stand well assured (for the tenor and subject of your main discourse) you are not able to impanel a jury in any university that will give up a verdict to acquit you of error; yet it cannot be gainsaid, that all your treatise over doth abound with choice conceit of the present state of learning, and with so worthy contemplations of the means to procure it, as may persuade with any student to look more narrowly to his business, not only by aspiring to the greatest perfection, of that which is now-a-days divulged in the sciences, but by diving yet deeper, as it were, into the bowels and secrets of nature, and by enforcing of the powers of his judgment and wit to learn of St. Paul, "Consectari meliora dona:" which course, would to God (to whisper so much into your ear) you had followed at the first, when you fell to the study of such a

study as was not worthy such a student. Nevertheless, being so as it is, that you are therein settled, and your country soundly served; I cannot but wish with all my heart, as I do very often, that you may gain a fit reward to the full of your deserts, which I hope will come with heaps of happiness and honour.

Yours to be used, and commanded,

THO. BODLEY.

From Fulham, Feb. 19, 1607.

Sir, one kind of boldness doth draw on another; insomuch as methinks I should offend to signify, that before the transcript of your book be fitted for the press, it will be requisite for you to cast a censor's eye upon the style and the elocution; which, in the framing of some periods, and in divers words and phrases, will hardly go for current, if the copy brought to me be just the same that you would publish.

THO. BODLEY.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Bishop of Ely, upon sending his writing intituled, Cogitata et Visa.

My very good Lord,

Now your lordship hath been so long in the church and the palace, disputing between kings and popes, methinks you should take pleasure to look into the field, and refresh your mind with some matter of philosophy; though that science be now, through age, waxed a child again, and left to boys and young men. And because you are wont to make me believe you took liking to my writings, I send you some of this vacation fruits, and thus much more for my mind and purpose. "I hasten not to publish, perishing I would prevent." And I am forced to respect as well my times, as the matter; for with me it is thus, and I think with all men, in my case: if I bind myself to an argument, it loadeth my mind; but if I rid my mind of the present

Cogitation, it is rather a recreation: this hath put me into these miscellanies, which I purpose to suppress, if God give me leave to write a just and perfect volume of philosophy, which I go on with, though slowly. I send not your lordship too much, lest it may glut you. Now, let me tell you what my desire is. If your lordship be so good now as when you were the good Dean of Westminster, my request to you is, that not by pricks, but by notes, you would mark unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you either not current in the style, or harsh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer, for no man can be judge and party; and when our minds judge by reflection on ourselves they are more subject to error. And though, for the matter itself, my judgment be in some things fixed, and not accessible by any man's judgment that goeth not my way, yet even in those things the admonition of a friend may make me express myself diversly. I would have come to your lordship, but that I am hastening to my house in the country, and so I commend your lordship to God's goodness.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Thomas Bodley, after he had imparted to him a writing intituled, Cogitata et Visa.

SIR,

In respect of my going down to my house in the country I shall have miss of my papers, which I pray you therefore return unto me. You are, I bear you witness, slothful, and you help me nothing; so as I am half in conceit that you affect not the argument; for myself, I know well you love and affect. I can say no more to you, but, "non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvæ." If you be not of the lodgings chalked up (whereof I speak in my preface) I am but to pass by your door. But if I had you but a fortnight at Gorhambury, I would make you tell me another

tale, or else I would add a cogitation against libraries, and be revenged on you that way: I pray you send me some good news of Sir Thomas Smith, and commend me very kindly to him. So I rest,

Sir Francis Bacon to Mr. Matthew, upon sending him part of Instauratio Magna.

Mr. Matthew,

I plainly perceive by your affectionate writing touching my work, that one and the same thing affecteth us both, which is the good end to which it is dedicated: for as to any ability of mine, it cannot merit that degree of approbation: For your caution for church-men, and church-matters; (as for any impediment it might be to the applause and celebrity of my work, it moveth me not) but as it may hinder the fruit and good which may come of a quiet and calm passage to the good port to which it is bound, I hold it a just respect, so as to fetch a fair wind I go not too far about: But troth is, I shall have no occasion to meet them in my way, except it be, as they will needs confederate themselves with Aristotle, who, you know is intemperately magnified with the school-men, and is also allied (as I take it) to the Jesuits by Faber, who was a companion of Loyola, and a great Aristotelian. I send you at this time, the only part which hath any harshness, and yet I framed to myself an opinion, that whosoever allowed well of that preface, which you so much commend, will not dislike, or at least ought not dislike this other speech of preparation; for it is written out of the same spirit, and out of the same necessity. Nay, it doth more fully lay open, that the question between me and the ancients is not of the virtue of the race, but of the rightness of the way. And to speak truth, it is to the other but as Palma to Pugnus, part of the same thing, more large. You conceive aright, that in this, and the other, you have commission to impart and communicate them to

others, according to your discretion; other matters I write not of: Myself am like the miller of Huntington, that was wont to pray for peace among the willows; for while the winds blew the wind-mills wrought, and the water-mill was less customed. So I see that controversies of religion must hinder the advancement of sciences. Let me conclude with my perpetual wish towards yourself, that the approbation of yourself by your own discreet and temperate carriage, may restore you to your country, and your friends to your society. And so I commend you to God's goodness.

Grays-Inn, this 10th
of October, 1609.

Sir Francis Bacon to Mr. Matthew, touching Instauratio Magna.

Mr. Matthew, I heartily thank you for your letter of the 10th of February, and I am glad to receive from you matter both of encouragement and advertisement, touching my writings. For my part, I do wish that since there is almost no "Lumen Siccum" in the world, but all, "Madidum, Maceratum," infused in affections, and bloods, or humours, that these things of mine had those separations that might make them more acceptable; so that they claim not so much acquaintance of the present times, as they be thereby the less like to last. And to shew you that I have some purpose to new mould them, I send you a leaf or two of the preface, carrying some figure of the whole work; wherein I purpose to take that which is real and effectual of both writings, and chiefly to add pledge, if not payment to my promise. I send you also a memorial of Queen Elizabeth, to requite your eulogy of the late Duke of Florence's felicity. Of this, when you were here, I shewed you some model, though at that time methought you were as willing to hear Julius Cæsar as Queen Elizabeth commended. But this

which I send is more full, and hath more of the narrative; and farther hath one part that I think will not be disagreeable, either to you, or that place, being the true tracts of her proceeding towards the catholics, which are infinitely mistaken. And though I do not imagine they will pass allowance there, yet they will gain upon excuse. I find Mr. Lezure to use you well, (I mean his tongue, of you,) which shews you either honest or wise. But this I speak merely; for in good faith, I conceive hope, that you will so govern yourself, as we may take you as assuredly for a good subject, and patriot, as you take yourself for a good christian; and so we may enjoy your company, and you your conscience, if it may no otherwise be. For my part, assure yourself, that (as we say in the law) "Mutatis mutandis," my love and good wishes to you are diminished. And so I remain.

Sir Francis Bacon to Mr. Savill.

[Inserted in Vol. I. p. 337.]

Sir Francis Bacon to the King, touching the Solicitor's place.

How honestly ready I have been (most gracious sovereign) to do your majesty humble service to the best of my power, and in a manner beyond my power, (as I now stand,) I am not so unfortunate, but your majesty knoweth. For both in the commission of union (the labour whereof, for men of my profession, rested most upon my hand,) and this last parliament in the bill of the subsidy, (both body, and preamble,) in the bill of attainders of Tresham, and the rest, in the matter of purveyance, in the ecclesiastical petitions, in the grievances, and the like; as I was ever careful, (and not without good success) sometimes to put forward that which was good, sometimes to keep back that which was not so good; so your majesty was pleased to

accept kindly of my services, and to say to me, such conflicts were the wars of peace, and such victories, the victories of peace; and therefore such servants that obtained them were by kings, that reign in peace, no less to be esteemed than services of commanders in the wars. In all which, nevertheless, I can challenge to myself no sufficiency, but that I was diligent and reasonably happy to execute those directions which I received either immediately from your royal mouth, or from my lord of Salisbury; at which time it pleased your majesty to promise and assure me, that upon the remove of the then attorney, I should not be forgotten, but brought into ordinary place. And this was after confirmed to me by many of my lords, and towards the end of the last term, the manner also in particular was spoken of; that is, that Mr. Solicitor should be made your majesty's serjeant, and I solicitor, for so it was thought best, to sort with both our gifts and faculties, for the good of your service. And of this resolution both court and country took knowledge. Neither was this any invention or project of mine own, but moved from my lords; and I think, first, from my lord chancellor. Whereupon resting, your majesty well knoweth, I never opened my mouth for the greater place, though I am sure I had two circumstances, that Mr. Attorney that now is, could not allege. The one, nine years' service of the crown; the other, being cousin-german to the lord of Salisbury, whom your majesty seemeth and trusteth so much. But for less place, I conceived it was meant me. But after that Mr. Attorney Hubbert was placed, I heard no more of my preferment, but it seemed to be at a stop, to my great disgrace and discouragement. For (gracious sovereign) if still when the waters are stirred, another shall be put before me, your majesty had need work a miracle, or else I shall be still a lame man to do your majesty service. And therefore my most humble suit to your majesty is,

that this which seemed to me was intended, may speedily be performed. And I hope my former service shall be but beginnings to better, when I am better strengthened. For sure I am, no man's heart is fuller (I say not but many have greater hearts, but I say, not fuller) of love and duty towards your majesty, and your children, as I hope time will manifest against envy and detraction, if any be. To conclude, I most humbly crave pardon for my boldness, and rest.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King, his Suit to succeed in the Attorney's Place.

It may please your Majesty.

Your great and princely favours towards me in advancing me to place, and that which is to me of no less comfort, your majesty's benign and gracious acceptation from time to time of my poor services, much above the merit and value of them, hath almost brought me to an opinion, that I may sooner perchance be wanting to myself in not asking, than find your majesty's goodness wanting to me, in any my reasonable and modest desires. And therefore, perceiving how at this time preferments of law fly about my ears, to some above me, and to some below me, I did conceive your majesty may think it rather a kind of dulness, or want of faith, than modesty, if I should not come with my pitcher to Jacob's Well, as others do. Wherein I shall propound to your majesty, that which tendeth not so much to the raising my fortune, as to the settling of my mind, being sometimes assailed with this cogitation, that by reason of my slowness to sue and apprehend sudden occasions, keeping on one plain course of painful service, I may (in fine dierum) be in danger to be neglected and forgotten. And if that should be, then were it much better for me now while I stand in your majesty's good opinion, (though unworthy,) and have some

reputation in the world, to give over the course I am in and to make proof to do you some honour by my pen; either by writing some faithful narrative of your happy (though not untraduced) times, or by recompiling your laws, which I perceive, your majesty laboureth with, and hath in your head, (as Jupiter had Pallas,) or some other the like work, (for without some endeavour to do you honour I would not live,) than to spend my wits and time in this laborious place, wherein now I serve, if it shall be deprived of those outward ornaments, and inward comforts, which it was wont to have in respect of an assured succession to some place of more dignity and rest, which seemeth now to be a hope altogether casual, if not wholly intercepted. Wherefore (not to hold your majesty long,) my suit (than the which I think I cannot well go lower) is, that I may obtain your royal promise to succeed (if I live) into the attorney's place, whensoever it shall be void, it being but the natural, and immediate step and rise, which the place I now hold hath ever (in sort) made claim to, and almost never failed of. In this suit I make no friends to your majesty, but rely upon no other motive than your grace, nor any other assurance but your word, whereof I had good experience when I came to the solicitor's place, that they were like to the two great lights, which in their motions are never retrograde. So, with my best prayer for your majesty's happiness, I rest.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir George Cary in France, upon sending him his writing; "In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ.

My very good Lord,

Being asked the question by this bearer, an old servant of my brother Anthony Bacon, whether I would command him any service into France, and being at better leisure

than I would, in regard of sickness, I began to remember, that neither your business nor mine, (though great and continual,) can be, upon an exact account, any just occasion why so much good-will as hath passed between us should be so much discontinued as it hath been. And therefore, because one must begin, I thought to provoke your remembrance of me, by my letter. And thinking how to fit it with somewhat besides salutations, it came to my mind, that this last summer by occasion of a factious book that endeavoured to verify, "Misera fæmina" (the addition of the Pope's bull) upon queen Elizabeth; I did write a few lines in her memorial, which I thought you would be well pleased to read, both for the argument, and because you were wont to bear affection to my pen. "Verum, ut aliud ex alio," if it came handsomely to pass, I would be glad the President De Thou (who hath written a history, as you know, of that fame and diligence) saw it; chiefly because I know not, whether it may not serve him for some use in his story; wherein I would be glad he did right to the truth, and to the memory of that lady, as I perceive by that he hath already written, he is well inclined to do; I would be glad also, it were some occasion (such as absence may permit) of some acquaintance or mutual notice between us. For though he hath many ways the precedence, (chiefly in worth,) yet this is common to them both, that we may serve our sovereigns in places of law eminent, and not ourselves only, but that our fathers did so before us; and lastly, that both of us love learning, and liberal sciences, which was ever a bond of friendship, in the greatest distances of places. But of this I make no farther request, than your own occasions and respects (to me unknown) may farther or limit, my principal purpose being to salute you, and to send you this token, whereunto I will add my very kind commendations to my lady. And so commit you both to God's holy protection.

Sir Francis Bacon, the King's Attorney, to the King, giving some account touching the Commendams.

[Inserted in Vol. VII. p. 307.]

Sir Francis Bacon his Advertisement touching an Holy War to the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrews, Lord Bishop of Winchester, and Counsellor of Estate to His Majesty.

[Inserted in Vol. VII. p. 112.]

Sir Francis Bacon to King James, of a Digest to be made of the Laws of England.

[Inserted in Vol. V. p. 353.]

Sir Francis Bacon to the Right Honourable his very good Lord, the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

[Inserted in Vol. VI. p. 242.]

Sir Francis Bacon, to the King.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

It is observed, upon a place in the Canticles by some, "Ego sum Flos Campi, et Lilium Convallium;" that it is not said, "Ego sum flos horti, et lilium montium:" because the majesty of that person is not inclosed for a few, nor appropriate to the great. And yet, notwithstanding, this royal virtue of access, which nature and judgment hath placed in your majesty's mind, as the portal of all the rest, could not of itself (my imperfections considered) have animated to me have made oblation of myself immediately to your majesty, had it not been joined to a habit of like liberty which I enjoyed with my late dear sovereign mis-

tress, a princess happy in all things, but most happy in such a successor. And yet farther, and more nearly, I was not a little encouraged, not only upon a supposal, that unto your majesty's sacred ears (open to the air of all virtues) there might have come some small breath of the good memory of my father, so long a principal counsellor in your kingdom, but also, by the particular knowledge of the infinite devotion, and incessant endeavours, beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times, which appeared in my good brother towards your majesty's service, and were on your majesty's part, through your singular benignities, by many most gracious and lively significations and favours accepted and acknowledged, beyond the thought of any thing he could effect: all which endeavours and duties, for the most part, were common to myself with him) though my design between brethren dissembled. And therefore, most high and mighty king, my most dear and dread sovereign lord, since now the corner-stone is laid of the mightiest monarchy in Europe, and that God above, who is noted to have a mighty hand in bridling the floods and fluctuations of the seas, and of people's hearts, hath by the miraculous and universal consent, (the more strange, because it proceedeth from such diversity of causes,) in your coming in, given a sign and token, what he intendeth in the continuance; I think there is no subject of your majesty, who loveth this island, and is not hollow and unworthy, whose heart is not on fire, not only to bring you peace-offerings to make you propitious; but to sacrifice himself as a burnt-offering to your majesty's service: amongst which number, no man's fire shall be more pure and fervent; but how far forth it shall blaze out, that resteth in your majesty's employment: for since your fortune, in the greatness thereof, hath for a time debarred your majesty of the fruitful virtue which one calleth the principal, "Principis est virtus maxima nôsse suos," because

your majesty hath many of yours, which are unknown unto you, I must leave all to the trial of farther time; and thirsting after the happiness of kissing your royal hand, continue ever Your, etc.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon, to the Lord Kinloss, upon the Entrance of King James.

My Lord,

The present occasion awakeneth in me a remembrance of the constant amity and mutual good offices which passed between my brother deceased and your lordship, whereunto I was less strange, than in respect of the time I had reason to pretend; and withal I call to mind the great opinion my brother (who seldom failed in judgment of a person) would often express to me of your lordship's great wisdom and soundness, both in head and heart, towards the service and affairs of our sovereign lord the king. The one of those hath bred in me an election, and the other a confidence, to address my good will and sincere affection to your good lordship, not doubting, in regard my course of life hath wrought me not to be altogether unseen in the matters of the kingdom, that I may be in some use both in points of service to the king, and your lordship's particular: And on the other side, I will not omit to desire humbly your lordship's favour, in furthering a good conceit and impression of my most humble duty, and true zeal towards the king, to whose majesty words cannot make me known, neither mine own nor others, but time will, to no disadvantage of any that shall fore-run his majesty's experience, by their humanity and commendations. And so I commend your lordship to God's protection.

Your, etc.

FR. BACON.

From Grays-Inn, etc.

Sir Francis Bacon, to the Earl of Northumberland, concerning a Proclamation upon the King's Entry.

It may please your Lordship,

I do hold it a thing formal and necessary, for the king to fore-run his coming, be it never so speedy, with some gracious declaration for the cherishing, entertaining, and preparing of men's affections. For which purpose I have conceived a draught, it being a thing to me familiar, in my mistress her times, to have used my pen in politic writings of satisfaction. The use of this may be in two sorts: First properly, if your lordship think convenient to shew the king any such draught, because the veins and pulses of this state cannot but be known here; which if your lordship should, then I would desire your lordship to withdraw my name, and only signify that you gave some heads of direction of such a matter to one of whose style and pen you had some opinion. The other collateral, that though your lordship make no other use of it, yet it is a kind of portraiture of that which I think worthy to be advised by your lordship to the king, to express himself according to those points which are therein conceived, and perhaps more compendious and significant than if I had set them down in articles. I would have attended your lordship, but for some little physic I took. To morrow morning I will wait on you. So I ever continue, etc.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Edward Coke, Expostulatory.

Mr. Attorney,

I thought best once for all, to let you know in plainness, what I find of you, and what you shall find of me, you take to yourself a liberty to disgrace and disable my law,

experience, and discretion; what it pleases you I pray think of me. I am one that know both mine own wants and other men's; and it may be, perchance, that mine may mend when others stand at a stay: And surely, I may not in public place endure to be wronged, without repelling the same to my best advantage, to right myself. You are great, and therefore have the more enviers, which would be glad to have you paid at another's cost. Since the time I missed the solicitor's place, the rather I think by your means, I cannot expect that you and I shall ever serve as attorney and solicitor together, but either to serve with another upon your remove, or to step into some other course. So as I am more free than ever I was from any occasion of unworthy confirming myself to you, more than general good manners, or your particular good usage shall provoke; and if you had not been short-sighted in your own fortune, (as I think) you might have had more use of me; but that tide is past. I write not this to shew any friends what a brave letter I have writ to Mr. Attorney, I have none of those humours, but that I have written is to a good end, that is, to the more decent carriage of my master's service, and to our particular better understanding one another. This letter, if it shall be answered by you in deed, and not in word I suppose it will not be the worse for us both; else it is but a few lines lost, which for a much smaller matter I would adventure. So this being to yourself, I for my part rest,

Yours, etc.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Edward Coke, after Lord Chief Justice, and in Disgrace.

[Inserted in Vol. VII. p. 296.]

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Vincent Skinner, Expostulatory.

Sir Vincent Skinner,

I see that by your needless delays, this matter is grown to a new question, wherein for the matter itself, it had been stayed at the beginning by my Treasurer, and my Lord Chancellor, I should not so much have stood upon it; for the great and daily travails which I take in his majesty's service, either are rewarded in themselves, in that they are but my duty, or else may deserve a much greater matter. Neither can I think amiss of any man, that in furtherance of the king's benefit, moved the doubt, that I knew not what warrant you had, but my wrong is, that you having had my Lord Treasurer's, and Mr. Chancellor's warrant for payment, above a month since, you (I say) making your payments, belike, upon such differences as are better known to yourself, than agreeable to due respect of his majesty's service, have delayed all this time, otherwise than I might have expected either from our ancient acquaintance, or from that regard that one in your place may owe to one in mine. By occasion whereof there ensueth to me a greater inconvenience that now my name, in sort, must be in question among you, as if I were a man likely to demand that that were unreasonable, or to be denied that that is reasonable; and this must be, because you can pleasure men at pleasure. But this I leave with this, that it is the first matter wherein I had occasion to discern of your friendship, which I see to fall to this, that whereas Mr. Chancellor the last time in my man's hearing, very honourably said, that he would not discontent any man in my place, it seems you have no such caution. But my writing to you now, is to know of you, where now the stay is, without being any more beholden to you, to whom indeed no man ought to be be-

holden in those cases in a right course. And so I bid you farewell.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Chancellor.

It may please your Lordship,

As I conceived it to be a resolution, both with his majesty, and among your lordships of his council, that I should be placed solicitor, and the solicitor to be removed to be the king's serjeant; so I most humbly thank your lordship's fartherness and forwardness therein, your lordship being the man that first devised the mean; wherefore my humble request unto your lordship is, that you would set in with some strength to finish this your work; which (I assure yourself) I desire the rather, because being placed, I hope for your many favours, to be able to do you some better service: for as I am, your lordship cannot use me, nor scarcely indeed know me, not that I vainly think I shall be able to do any great matter, but certainly it will frame me to use a more industrious observance and application to such as I honour so much as I do your lordship, and not, I hope, without some good offices, which may deserve your thanks. And herewithal, good my lord, I humbly pray your lordship to consider, that time groweth precious with me, and that a married man is years seven older in his thoughts the first day; and therefore what a discomfortable thing it is for me to be unsettled still. For surely, were it not that I think myself born for to do my sovereign service, and therefore in that station I will live and die; otherwise for mine own private comfort, it were better for me that the king should blot me out of his book, or that I should turn my course to endeavour to serve him in some other kind, than for me to stand thus at a stop, and to have that little reputation which by my industry I gather, to be scattered and taken away by continual disgraces, every new man coming in before me

and sure I am, I shall never have fairer promises and hope from all your lordships, and I would believe you in a far greater matter: and if it were nothing else, I hope the modesty of my suit deserveth somewhat; for I know well the solicitor's place is not as your lordship left it, time working alteration, somewhat in the profession, much more in that special place. And were it not to satisfy my wife's friends, and to get myself out of being a common gaze, and a speech, (I protest before God) I would never speak word for it. But to conclude, as my honourable lady was some mean to make me to change the name of another; so if it please you to help me, as you said, to change mine own name, I cannot be but more and more bounden to you; and I am much deceived, if your lordship find not the king well inclined: as for my lord of Salisbury, he is forward and affectionate. Yours, etc.

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King.*

It may please your Most Excellent Majesty,

How honestly ready I have been, most gracious sovereign, to do your majesty humble service to the best of my power, and in a manner beyond my power, as I now stand, I am not so unfortunate but your majesty knows; both in the commission of union, the labour whereof for men of my profession, rested most upon my hands; and this last parliament, for the bill of subsidy, both body and preamble: in the bill of attainders of Tresham, and the rest; in the matter of purveyance, in the ecclesiastical petitions, in the

* This is merely a copy of a letter, which will be found in page 94, but there are some variations, which have induced me to insert both of them: In the latter letter he refers to his Father.

grievances, and the like; as I was ever careful, not without good success, sometime to put forward that which was good, sometime to keep back that which was worse; so your majesty was pleased kindly to accept of my services, and to say to me, such conflicts were the wars of peace, and such victories the victories of peace; and therefore such servants as obtained them were, by kings that reign in peace, no less to be esteemed than conquerors in the wars. In all which, nevertheless I can challenge to myself no sufficiency, that I was diligent, and reasonably happy to execute those directions which I have received, either immediately from your royal mouth, or from my lord of Salisbury. At that time it pleased your majesty also to assure me, that upon the remove of the then attorney, I should not be forgotten, but be brought into ordinary place; and this was confirmed unto me by many of my lords. And towards the end of the last term, the manner also in particular spoken of, that is, that Mr. Solicitor should be made your majesty's serjeant, and I solicitor; for so it was thought best to sort with both our gifts and faculties for the good of our service, and of this resolution both court and country took notice. Neither was this any invention or project of mine own, but moved from my lords, I think first from my lord chancellor; whereupon resting, your majesty well knoweth, I never opened my mouth for the greater place, although I am sure, I had two circumstances that Mr. Attorney that now is could not allege; the one nine years service of the crown; the other, the being cousin-german to my lord of Salisbury; for of my father's service I will not speak. But for the less place, I conceive, it was never meant me: but after that Mr. Attorney Hubbard was placed, I heard no more of any preferment, but it seemed to be at a stop, to my great disgrace and discontentment. For, gracious sovereign, if still when the waters be stirred, another shall be put in before me, your majesty hath need work a miracle, or else I shall

be a lame man to do your services. And therefore my most humble suit unto your majesty is, that this, which seemed to me intended, may speedily be performed; and I hope my former services shall be but as beginnings to better, when I am better strengthened: for sure I am no man's heart is fuller, I say not, but many may have greater hearts, but I say, not fuller of love and duty towards your majesty and your children, as I hope time will manifest against envy and detraction, if any be. To conclude, I humbly crave pardon for my boldness, etc.

Your, etc.

FR. BACON.

LETTERS FROM THE RESUSCITATIO.

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, in excuse of his Speech in Parliament, against the Triple Subsidy.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 28.]

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, recommending his first Suit, touching the Solicitor's place.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 3.]

A Letter to Queen Elizabeth, upon the sending of a New-year's Gift.

It may please your Majesty,

According to the ceremony of the time, I would not forget, in all humbleness, to present your majesty with a small New-year's gift: nothing to my mind. And therefore to supply it, I can but pray to God to give your majesty his New-year's Gift; that is, a New-year that shall be as no year to your body, and as a year with two harvests to your coffers; and every other way prosperous and gladsome. And so I remain.

A Letter to Queen Elizabeth, upon the sending of a New-year's Gift.

Most excellent sovereign Mistress,

The only New-year's Gift which I can give your majesty, is that which God hath given to me: which is, a mind, in all humbleness, to wait upon your commandments and business: wherein I would to God, that I were hooded, that I saw less; or that I could perform more: for now I am like a hawk, that bates, when I see occasion of service, but cannot fly because I am tied to another's fist. But meanwhile, I continue my presumption of making to your majesty, my poor oblation of a garment, as unworthy the wearing as his service that sends it: but the approach to your excellent person may give worth to both: which is all the happiness I aspire unto.

A Letter of Advice to the Earl of Essex, to take upon him the Care of Irish Causes, when Mr. Secretary Cecil was in France.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 15.]

A Letter of Advice to the Earl of Essex, upon the first Treaty with Tyrone, 1598, before the Earl was nominated for the Charge of Ireland.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 17.]

A Letter of Advice to my Lord of Essex, immediately before his going into Ireland.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 20.]

A Letter to the Earl of Essex, in offer of his Service, when he was first enlarged to Essex-House.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 24.]

An Answer of my Lord of Essex, to the immediately preceding Letter of Mr. Bacon's.

Mr. Bacon,

I can neither expound, nor censure your late actions; being ignorant of all of them, save one; and having directed my sight inward only, to examine myself. You do pray me to believe, that you only aspire to the conscience and commendation, of "Bonus Civis," and "Bonus Vir;" and I do faithfully assure you, that while that is your ambition (though your course be active and mind contemplative) yet we shall, both, "Convenire in eodem Tertio;" and "Convenire inter nos ipsos." Your profession of affection, and offer of good offices, are welcome to me: For answer to them, I will say but this; that you have believed I have been kind to you; and you may believe that I cannot be other, either upon humour, or mine own election. I am a stranger to all poetical conceits, or else I should say somewhat of your poetical example. But this I must say; that I never flew with other wings than desire to merit; and confidence in my sovereign's favour; and when one of these wings failed me, I would light no where but at my sovereign's feet, though she suffered me to be bruised, with my fall. And till her majesty, that knows I was never bird of prey, finds it to agree with her will and her service, that my wings should be imped again, I have committed myself to the mue. No power, but my God's, and my sovereign's, can alter this resolution of

Your retired friend,

ESSEX.

Two Letters framed; the one, as from Mr. Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex; the other, as the Earl's Answer thereunto, delivered to Sir Francis

Bacon, with the advice of Mr. Anthony Bacon, his brother, to be shewed to the Queen, upon some fit occasion; as a mean to work her Majesty to receive the Earl again to favour and attendance at court: they were devised, whilst my lord remained prisoner, in his own house.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 9.]

A Letter, framed as from the Earl; in answer of the former Letter.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 13.]

A Letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil, after the defeating of the Spanish Forces in Ireland; inciting him, to embrace the care of reducing that kingdom to civility, with some reasons sent enclosed.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 27.]

Considerations, touching the Queen's service in Ireland.

[Inserted in Vol. V. p. 187.]

A Letter of Recommendation of his Service, to the Earl of Northumberland, a few days before Queen Elizabeth's death.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 24.]

A Letter of Offer of his service to his Majesty, upon his first coming in.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 100.]

To Mr. Faules in Scotland, upon the Entrance of his Majesty's Reign.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 26.]

A Letter commending his Love and Occasions to Sir Thomas Challoner then in Scotland, upon his Majesty's Entrance.

Sir,

For our money matters, I am assured you received no insatisfaction: for you know my mind; and you know my means; which now the openness of the time, caused by this blessed consent and peace, will increase; and so our agreement according to your time be observed. For the present, according to the Roman adage (that one cluster of grapes ripeneth best beside another); I know you hold me not unworthy, whose mutual friendship you should cherish: and I, for my part, conceive good hope that you are likely to become an acceptable servant to the king our master. Not so much for any way made heretofore, (which in my judgement will make no great difference) as for the stuff and sufficiency, which I know to be in you; and whereof I know his majesty may reap great service. And therefore my general request is, that according to that industrious vivacity, which you use towards your friends, you will further his majesty's good conceit and inclination towards me; to whom words cannot make me known; neither mine own nor others; but time will, to no disadvantage of any that shall forerun his majesty's experience, by your testimony and commendation. And though occasion give you the precedence of doing me this special good office; yet, I hope no long time will intercede, before I shall have some means to requite your favour and acquit your report. More particularly, having thought good to make oblation of my most humble service to his majesty by a few lines, I do desire your loving care and help by yourself, or such means as I refer to your discretion, to deliver and present the same to his majesty's hands. Of which

letter I send you a copy, that you may know what you carry; and may take of Mr. Matthew the letter itself; if you pleased to undertake the delivery. Lastly, I do commend to yourself, and such your courtesies as occasion may require, this gentleman Mr. Matthew, eldest son to my Lord Bishop of Durham, and my very good friend; assuring you that any courtesy, you shall use towards him, you shall use to a very worthy young gentleman, and one, I know, whose acquaintance you will much esteem. And so I ever continue.

A Letter to Mr. Davis then gone to the King, at his first Entrance.

Master Davis,

Though you went on the sudden, yet you could not go before you had spoken with yourself, to the purpose, which I will now write. And therefore I know it shall be altogether needless, save that I meant to shew you that I was not asleep. Briefly, I commend myself to your love and the well using my name; as well in repressing and answering for me, if there be any biting or nibbling at it in that place; as by imprinting a good conceit and opinion of me, chiefly in the king (of whose favour I make myself comfortable assurance); as otherwise in that court. And not only so, but generally to perform to me all the good offices, which the vivacity of your wit can suggest to your mind, to be performed to one, with whose affection you have so great sympathy; and in whose fortune you have so great interest. So desiring you to be good to concealed poets, I continue.

A Letter to Mr. Faules, 28 Martii, 1603.

Mr. Faules,

I did write unto you yesterday, by Mr. Lake (who was dispatched hence from their lordships,) a letter of revivor,

of those sparks of former acquaintance between us in my brother's time: and now upon the same confidence, finding so fit a messenger, I would not fail to salute you; hoping it will fall out so happily, as that you shall be one of the king's servants, which his majesty will first employ here with us: where I hope to have some means not to be barren in friendship towards you. We all thirst after the king's coming, accounting all this but as the dawning of the day, before the rising of the sun, till we have his presence. And though now his majesty must be Janus Bifrons, to have a face to Scotland as well as to England, yet "Quod nunc instat agendum:" The expectation is here, that he will come in state and not in strength. So for this time I commend you to God's goodness.

A Letter to Mr. Robert Kempe upon the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 25.]

A Letter to my Lord of Northumberland, mentioning a Proclamation drawn for the King, at his Entrance.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 103.]

A Letter to the Earl of Southampton upon the King's Coming in.

It may please your Lordship,

I would have been very glad, to have presented my humble service to your lordship by my attendance, if I could have foreseen that it should not have been unpleasing unto you. And therefore, because I would commit no error, I chose to write; assuring your lordship how credible soever it may seem to you at first, yet it is as true as a thing that God knoweth; that this great change hath

wrought in me no other change towards your lordship than this; that I may safely be now that which I was truly before. And so craving no other pardon, than for troubling you with my letter, I do not now begin to be, but continue to be,

Your Lordship's humble and much devoted.

A Letter to the Earl of Northumberland, after he had been with the King.

It may please your good Lordship,

I would not have lost this journey, and yet I have not that I went for. For I have had no private conference to purpose with the king. No more hath almost any other English: for the speech, his majesty admitteth with some noblemen, is rather matter of grace than matter of business; with the Attorney he spake, urged by the Treasurer of Scotland, but no more than needs must. After I had received his majesty's first welcome, and was promised private access, yet not knowing what matter of service your lordship's letter carried (for I saw it not), and well knowing that primeness in advertisement is much, I chose rather to deliver it to Sir Thomas Heskins than to cool it in mine own hands upon expectation of access. Your lordship shall find a prince the furthest from vain glory that may be; and rather, like a prince of the ancient form than of the latter time: his speech is swift and cursory, and in the full dialect of his country, and in speech of business short, in speech of discourse large: he affecteth popularity, by gracing such as he hath heard to be popular, and not by any fashions of his own. He is thought somewhat general in his favours; and his virtue of access is rather because he is much abroad and in press than that he giveth easy audience. He hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and occasions, faster per-

haps than policy will well bear. I told your lordship once before that (methought) his majesty rather asked counsel of the time past than of the time to come. But it is yet early to ground any settled opinion. For the particulars I refer to conference, having in these generals gone further, in so tender an argument, than I would have done were not the bearer hereof so assured. So I continue, etc.

A Letter to Mr. Pierce, Secretary to the Deputy of Ireland.

Master Pierce,

I am glad to hear of you as I do; and for my part, you shall find me ready to take any occasion to further your credit and preferment: and I dare assure you (though I am no undertaker,) to prepare your way with my Lord of Salisbury, for any good fortune which may befall you. You teach me to complain of business, whereby I write the more briefly; and yet I am so unjust, as that which I allege for mine own excuse, I cannot admit for yours. For I must by expecting, exact your letters with this fruit of your sufficiency, as to understand how things pass in that kingdom. And therefore, having begun, I pray you continue. This is not merely curiosity, for I have ever (I know not by what instinct) wished well to that impolished part of this Crown. And so with my very loving commendations, I remain.

A Letter to the King, upon presenting the Discourse touching the Plantation of Ireland.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 73.]

A Letter to the Lord Chancellor touching the History of Britain.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 69.]

A Letter to the King upon the sending unto him a beginning of a History of his Majesty's Times.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 68.]

A Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, upon sending him one of his Books of Advancement of Learning.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 73.]

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst upon the like Argument.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 78.]

A Letter of the like Argument to the Lord Chancellor.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 79.]

A Letter of like Argument to the Earl of Northampton, with request to present the Book to his Majesty.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 79.]

A Letter of Request to Dr. Playfer to translate the Book of Advancement of Learning into Latin.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 80.]

A Letter to Sir Thomas Bodley upon sending him his Book of Advancement of Learning.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 82.]

A Letter to the Bishop of Ely upon sending his Writing, entituled, Cogitata et Visa.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 90.]

A Letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, after he had imparted to him a writing, entituled, Cogitata et Visa.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 91.]

A Letter to Mr. Matthew upon sending to him a part of Instauratio Magna.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 92.]

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, touching Instauratio Magna.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 93.]

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, imprisoned for Religion.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 62.]

A Letter to Mr. Matthew, upon sending his Book De Sapientiâ Veterum.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 29.]

A Letter of Expostulation to the Attorney General, Sir Edward Cook.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 104.]

A Letter to my Lord of Salisbury, touching the Solicitor's Place.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 63.]

A Letter of like Argument, to the Lord Chancellor.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 106.]

A Letter to the King touching the Solicitor's Place.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 95 and 107.]

A Letter to the Earl of Salisbury of courtesy upon a New Year's Tide.

It may please your good Lordship,

Having no gift to present you with, in any degree proportionable to my mind, I desire nevertheless to take the advantage of a ceremony to express myself to your lordship; it being the first time I could make the like acknowledgment when I stood out of the person of a suitor; wherefore I most humbly pray your lordship to think of me, that now it hath pleased you, by many effectual and great benefits, to add the assurance and comfort of your love and favour to that precedent disposition which was in me to admire your virtue and merit; I do esteem whatsoever I have or may have in this world but as trash in comparison of having the honour and happiness to be a near and well accepted kinsman to so rare and worthy a counsellor, governor, and patriot. For having been a studious, if not a curious observer of antiquities of virtue, as of late pieces, I forbear to say to your lordship what I find and conceive; but to any other I would think to make myself believed. But not to be tedious in that which may have the shew of a compliment, I can but wish your lordship many happy years; many more than your father had; even so many more as we may need you more. So I remain.

A Letter of Thanks to the King, upon Mr. Attorney's sickness.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I do understand, by some of my good friends, to my great comfort, that your majesty hath in mind your majesty's royal promise (which to me is "anchora spei") touching the Attorney's place. I hope Mr. Attorney shall do well. I thank God I wish no man's death, nor much mine own life, more than to do your majesty service. For I account my life the accident, and my duty the substance. But this I will be bold to say. If it please God that ever I serve your majesty in the Attorney's place I have known an Attorney Cooke, and an attorney Hobert; both worthy men, and far above myself; but if I should not find a middle way between their two dispositions and carriages, I should not satisfy myself. But these things are far or near, as it shall please God. Meanwhile I most humbly pray your majesty to accept my sacrifice of thanksgiving for your gracious favour. God preserve your majesty. I ever remain.

A Letter to the King, of suit to succeed in the Attorney's Place.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 97.]

A Letter to Sir George Carey in France, upon sending him his writing, "In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ."

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 99.]

A Letter to my Lord Mayor, upon a proceeding in a private cause.

My very good Lord,

I did little expect when I left your lordship last, that

there would have been a proceeding against Mr. Barnard to his overthrow. Wherein I must confess myself to be in a sort accessary: because he relying upon me for counsel, I advised that course which he followed. Wherein now I begin to question myself, whether in preserving my respects to your lordship and the rest, I have not failed in the duty of my profession towards my client; for certainly, if the words had been heinous and spoken in a malicious fashion, and in some public place and well proved, and not a prattle in a tavern, caught hold of by one, who (as I hear) is a detected sycophant (Standish I mean) yet I know not what could have been done more than to impose upon him a grievous fine; and to require the levying of the same; and to take away his means of life by his disfranchisement; and to commit him to a defamed prison during Christmas; in honour whereof the prisoners in other courts do commonly of grace obtain some enlargement. This rigor of proceeding (to tell your lordship and the rest, as my good friends, my opinion plainly) tendeth not to strengthen authority which is best supported by love and fear intermixed; but rather to make people discontented and servile; especially, when such punishment is inflicted for words, not by rule of law but by a jurisdiction of discretion, which would evermore be moderately used. And I pray God, whereas Mr. Recorder, when I was with you, did well and wisely put you in mind of the admonitions you often received from my lords that you should bridle unruly tongues; that those kind of speeches and rumours whereunto those admonitions do refer, which are concerning the state and honour thereof, do not pass too licentiously in the city unpunished; while these words which concern your particular are so straightly enquired into, and punished with such extremity. But these things, your own wisdom (first or last,) will best represent unto you. My writing unto you at this time is, to the end, that howsoever I do take it somewhat unkindly,

that my mediation prevailed no more; yet I might preserve that further respect that I am willing to use unto such a state, in delivering my opinion unto you freely, before I would be of counsel, or move any thing that should cross your proceedings; which notwithstanding (in case my client can receive no relief at your hands) I must and will do. Continuing, nevertheless in other things, my wonted good affection to yourselves, and your occasions.

A Letter to my Lord Treasurer Salisbury, upon a New-year's Tide.

It may please your good Lordship,

I would entreat the new year to answer for the old, in my humble thanks to your lordship; both for many your favours, and chiefly that upon the occasion of Mr. Attorney's infirmity, I found your lordship even as I could wish. This doth encrease a desire in me to express my thankful mind to your lordship; hoping that though I find age, and decays grow upon me, yet I may have a flash or two of spirit left to do you service. And I do protest before God, without compliment or any light vanity of mind, that if I knew in what course of life to do you best service, I would take it, and make my thoughts, which now fly to many pieces, to be reduced to that centre. But all this, is no more than I am, which is not much; but yet the entire of him, that is, etc.

A Letter to his Majesty, concerning Peacham's Cause, January 21, 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

It grieveth me exceedingly, that your majesty should be so much troubled with this matter of Peacham's; whose raging devil seemeth to be turned into a dumb devil. But although we are driven to make our way through questions (which I wish were otherwise) yet I hope well the end will

be good. But then every man must put to his helping hand; for else I must say to your majesty, in this and the like cases, as St. Paul said to the Centurion, when some of the mariners had an eye to the cock-boat, "except these stay in the ship, ye cannot be safe." I find in my lord's great and worthy care of the business. And for my part I hold my opinion and am strengthened in it, by some records that I have found. God preserve your majesty.

Your majesty's most humble, and devoted subject and servant.

A Letter to the King, touching Peacham's Cause, January 27, 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

This day in the afternoon, was read, your majesty's letters of direction touching Peacham; which because it concerneth properly the duty of my place, I thought it fit for me to give your majesty, both a speedy and private account thereof; that your majesty knowing things clearly how they pass, may have the true fruit of your own wisdom and clear-seeing judgment in governing the business.

First, for the regularity which your majesty (as a master in business of estate) doth prudently prescribe in examining, and taking examinations, I subscribe to it; only I will say for myself, that I was not at this time the principal examiner.

For the course your majesty directeth and commandeth, for the feeling of the judges of the King's Bench, their several opinions by distributing ourselves and enjoining secrecy, we did first find an encounter in the opinion of my Lord Cooke; who seemed to affirm, that such particular and (as he called it) auricular taking of opinions, was not according to the custom of this realm; and seemed to divine that his brethren would never do it. But when I replied,

that it was our duty to pursue your majesty's directions; and it were not amiss for his lordship to leave his brethren to their own answers, it was so concluded; and his lordship did desire, that I might confer with himself; and Mr. Serjeant Montague was named to speak with Justice Crooke; Mr. Serjeant Crew with Justice Houghten; and Mr. Solicitor with Justice Dodderidge. This done, I took my fellows aside, and advised that they should presently speak with the three judges, before I could speak with my Lord Cooke for doubt of infusion; and that they should not in any case make any doubt to the judges, as if they mistrusted, they would not deliver any opinion apart, but speak resolutely to them, and only make their coming to be, to know what time they would appoint to be attended with the papers. This sorted not amiss; for Mr. Solicitor came to me this evening and related to me, that he had found Judge Dodderidge very ready to give opinion in secret; and fell upon the same reason, which upon your majesty's first letter I had used to my Lord Cooke at the council table; which was, that every judge was bound expressly by his oath to give your majesty counsel when he was called; and whether he should do it jointly or severally, that rested in your majesty's good pleasure as you would require it. And though the ordinary course was to assemble them, yet there might intervene cases, wherein the other course was more convenient. The like answer made Justice Crook, Justice Houghton who is a soft man, seemed desirous first to confer; alleging, that the other three judges had all served the crown before they were judges, but that he had not been much acquainted with business of this nature.

We purpose therefore, forthwith, they shall be made acquainted with the papers; and if that could be done, as suddenly as this was, I should make small doubt of their opinions; And howsoever, I hope, force of law and precedent, will bind

them to the truth: neither am I wholly out of hope, that my Lord Cooke himself, when I have in some dark manner put him in doubt that he shall be left alone, will not continue singular.

For Owen; I know not the reason, why there should have been no mention made thereof in the last advertisement: for I must say for myself, that I have lost no moment of time in it, as my Lord of Canterbury can bear me witness. For having received from my lord an additional of great importance; which was, that Owen of his own accord, after examination, should compare the case of your majesty (if you were excommunicate) to the case of a prisoner condemned at the bar; which additional was subscribed by one witness; but yet I perceived it was spoken aloud, and in the hearing of others, I presently sent down a copy thereof, which is now come up, attested with the hands of three more, lest there should have been any scruple of "singularis testis;" so as for this case, I may say "omnia parata;" and we expect but a direction from your majesty, for the acquainting the judges severally; or the four judges of the King's Bench as your majesty shall think good.

I forget not, nor forslow not your majesty's commandment touching Recusants; of which, when it is ripe, I will give your majesty a true account, and what is possible to be done, and where the impediment is. Mr. Secretary bringeth "bonum voluntatem," but he is not versed much in these things; and sometimes urgeth the conclusion without the premises and by haste hindreth. It is my Lord Treasurer and the Exchequer must help it, if it be holpen. I have heard more ways than one, of an offer of 20,000l. per annum, for farming the penalties of Recusants, not including any offence, Capital or of Premunire; wherein I will presume to say, that my poor endeavours, since I was by your great and sole grace your Attorney, have been no small spurs to make them feel your laws, and seek this redemp-

tion; wherein I must also say, my Lord Cook hath done his part: and I do assure your majesty I know it, somewhat inwardly and groundedly, that by the courses we have taken, they conform daily and in great numbers; and I would to God, it were as well a conversion as a conformity; but if it should die by dispensation or dissimulation, then I fear, that whereas your majesty hath now so many ill subjects poor and detected, you shall then have them rich and dissembled. And therefore I hold this offer very considerable, of so great an increase of revenue; if it can pass the fiery trial of religion and honour, which I wish all projects may pass.

Thus in as much as I have made to your majesty, somewhat a naked and particular account of business, I hope your majesty will use it accordingly. God preserve your majesty.

Your majesty's most humble, and devoted subject and servant.

A Letter reporting the State of my Lord Chancellor's Health. Jan. 29, 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

Because I know your majesty would be glad to hear how it is with my Lord Chancellor; and that it pleased him out of his ancient and great love to me, which many times in sickness appeareth most, to admit me to a great deal of speech with him this afternoon, which during these three days he hath scarcely done to any; I thought it might be pleasing to your majesty to certify you how I found him. I found him in bed, but his spirits fresh and good, speaking stoutly, and without being spent or weary, and both willing and beginning of himself to speak, but wholly of your majesty's business. Wherein I cannot forget to relate this particular, that he wished that his sentencing of I. S. at the day appointed, might be his last work, to conclude his

services, and express his affection towards your majesty. I told him I knew your majesty would be very desirous of his presence that day, so it might be without prejudice, but otherwise your majesty esteemed a servant more than a service, especially such a servant. Not to trouble your majesty, though good spirits in sickness be uncertain calenders, yet I have very good comfort of him, and I hope by that day, etc.

A Letter to the King, giving him an Account of Peacham's Business, and some others, Jan. 31, 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I received this morning, by Mr. Murray, a message from your majesty of some warrant and confidence, that I should advertise your majesty of your business, wherein I had part. Wherein, I am first, humbly to thank your majesty for your good acceptation of my endeavours and service; which I am not able to furnish with any other quality save faith and diligence.

For Peacham's case, I have, since my last letter, been with my Lord Cooke twice; once before Mr. Secretary's going down to your majesty, and once since, which was yesterday; at the former of which times I delivered him Peacham's papers; and at this latter, the precedents which I had with care gathered and selected, for these degrees and order the business required.

At the former I told him that he knew my errand which stood upon two points; the one to inform him the particular case of Peacham's treasons (for I never give it other word to him) the other to receive his opinion to myself, and in secret, according to my commission from your majesty.

At the former time he fell upon the same allegation which he had begun at the council table; that judges were

not to give opinion by fractions, but entirely according to the vote whereupon they should settle upon conference; and that this auricular taking of opinions, single and apart, was new and dangerous; and other words more vehement than I repeat.

I replied in civil and plain terms, that I wished his lordship, in my love to him, to think better of it; for that this, that his lordship was pleased to put into great words, seemed to me and my fellows, when we spake of it amongst ourselves, a reasonable and familiar matter, for a king to consult with his judges, either assembled or selected, or one by one; and then to give him a little outlet, to save his first opinion, (wherewith he is most commonly in love) I added that judges sometimes might make a suit to be spared for their opinion till they had spoken with their brethren; but if the king upon his own princely judgment, for reason of estate, should think it fit to have it otherwise, and should so demand it there was no declining; nay, that it touched upon a violation of their oath, which was to counsel the king without distinction, whether it were jointly or severally. Thereupon I put him the case of the privy council, as if your majesty should be pleased to command any of them to deliver their opinion apart and in private; whether it were a good answer to deny it, otherwise than if it were propounded at the table. To this he said, that the cases were not alike, because this concerned life. To which I replied, that questions of estate might concern thousand of lives; and many things more precious than the life of a particular; as war and peace, and the like.

To conclude, his lordship, "tanquam exitum quærens," desired me for the time to leave with him the papers, without pressing him to consent to deliver a private opinion till he had perused them. I said I would; and the more willingly, because I thought his lordship, upon due consideration of the papers, would find the case to be so clear a case

of treason, as he would make no difficulty to deliver his opinion in private; and so I was persuaded of the rest of the judges of the king's bench; who likewise (as I partly understood) made no scruple to deliver their opinion in private. Whereupon he said (which I noted well) that his brethren were wise men, and that they might make a shew as if they would give an opinion as was required but the end would be, that it would come to this, they would say they doubted of it, and so pray advice with the rest. But to this I answered, that I was sorry to hear him say so much, lest if it came so to pass some that loved him not might make a construction that that which he had foretold he had wrought. Thus your majesty sees that, as Solomon saith, "gressus nolentis tanquam in sepi spinarum," it catcheth upon every thing.

The latter meeting is yet of more importance; for then, coming armed with divers precedents, I thought to set in with the best strength I could, and said, that before I descended to the record I would break the case to him thus; that it was true we were to proceed upon the ancient statute of King Edward the Third, because other temporary statutes were gone, and therefore it must be said in the indictment, "imaginatus est, et compassavit, mortem et finalem destructionem domini regis." Then must the particular treasons follow in this manner, viz. "Et quod, ad perimplendum nefandum propositum suum, composuit, et conscripsit, quendam detestabilem, et venenosum libellum, sive scriptum, in quo inter alia proditoria continetur," etc. And then the principal passages of treason, taken forth of the papers, are to be entered "in hæc verba;" and with a conclusion in the end, "ad intentionem, quod ligeus populus, et veri subditi domini regis, cordialem suum amorem, a domino rege retraherent et ipsum dominum regem relinquerent, et guerram, et insurrectionem, contra eum, levarent, et facerent," etc. I have in this former followed the ancient stile of the indictments for brevity's sake, though when we

come to the business itself we shall enlarge it according to the use of the later times. This I represented to him (being a thing he is well acquainted with) that he might perceive the platform of that was intended, without any mistaking or obscurity. But then I fell to the matter itself, to lock him in as much as I could, viz.

That there be four means or manners, whereby the death of the king is compassed and imagined.

The first, by some particular fact or plot.

The second, by disabling his title; as by affirming that he is not lawful king; or that another ought to be king; or that he is an usurper, or a bastard, or the like.

The third, by subjecting his title to the pope; and thereby making him of an absolute king a conditional king.

The fourth, by disabling his regiment, and making him appear to be incapable, or indign to reign.

These things I relate to your majesty, in sum, as is fit; which when I opened to my lord I did insist a little more upon, with more efficacy and edge, and authority of law and record than I can now express.

Then I placed Peacham's treason within the last division, agreeable to divers precedents, whereof I had the records ready; and concluded, that your majesty's safety, and life, and authority, was thus by law ensconsed and quartered; and that it was in vain to fortify on three of the sides and so leave you open on the fourth.

It is true he heard me in a grave fashion, more than accustomed, and took a pen and took notes of my divisions; and when he read the precedents and records, would say, this you mean falleth within your first or your second division. In the end, I expressly demanded his opinion, as that whereto both he and I was enjoined. But he desired me to leave the precedents with him, that he might advise upon them. I told him, the rest of my fellows would dispatch their part and I should be behind with mine; which I persuaded myself, your majesty would impute rather to his

backwardness than my negligence. He said, as soon as I should understand that the rest were ready, he would not be long after with his opinion.

For I. S. your majesty knoweth the day draweth on; and my Lord Chancellor's recovery, the season and his age promising not to be too hasty. I spake with him on Sunday, at what time I found him in bed, but his spirits strong, and not spent or wearied; and spake wholly of your business leading me from one matter to another. And wished, and seemed to hope, that he might attend the day for I. S. and it were (as he said) to be his last work, to conclude his services and express his affection towards your majesty. I presumed to say to him, that I knew your majesty would be exceeding desirous of his being present that day, so as that it might be without prejudice to his continuance; but that otherwise your majesty esteemed a servant more than a service; especially such a servant. Surely, in mine opinion your majesty were better put off the day than want his presence, considering the cause of the putting off is so notorious; and then the capital and the criminal may come together the next term.

I have not been unprofitable in helping to discover and examine within these few days a late patent, by surreption obtained from your majesty, of the greatest forest in England, worth 30,000*l.* under colour of a defective title, for a matter of 400*l.* The person must be named, because the patent must be questioned. It is a great person, my Lord of Shrewsbury; or rather (as I think) a greater than he, which is my lady of Shrewsbury. But I humbly pray your majesty, to know this first from my Lord Treasurer; who, methinks, groweth even studious in your business. God preserve your majesty. Your majesty's most humble and devoted subject and servant.

The rather in regard of Mr. Murray's absence, I humbly pray your majesty to have a little regard to this letter.

A Letter to the King touching my Lord Chancellor's amendment, and the putting off, I. S. his Cause, February 7, 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

My Lord Chancellor sent for me, to speak with me, this morning about eight of the clock. I perceive he hath now, that signum sanitatis, as to feel better his former weakness. For it is true, I did a little mistrust that it was but a boutade of desire and good spirit, when he promised himself strength for Friday, though I was won and carried with it. But now I find him well inclined, to use (should I say) your liberty or rather your interdict, signified by Mr. Secretary from your majesty. His lordship shewed me also your own letter, whereof he had told me before, but had not shewed it me. What shall I say? I do much admire your goodness for writing such a letter at such a time.

He had sent also to my Lord Treasurer, to desire him to come to him about that time. His lordship came; and not to trouble your majesty with circumstances, both their lordships concluded, myself present, and concurring, that it could be no prejudice to your majesty's service to put off the day for I. S. till the next term. The rather because there are seven of your Privy Council, which are at least numerous, and part of the court which are by infirmity like to be absent; that is my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Admiral, my Lord of Shrewsbury, my Lord of Exeter, my Lord Zouch, my Lord Stanhope, and Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy: wherefore they agreed to hold a council to-morrow in the afternoon for that purpose.

It is true, that I was always of opinion, that it was no time lost; and I do think so the rather, because I could be content that the matter of Peacham were first settled and put to a point. For there be, perchance, that would make the

example upon I. S. to stand for all. For Peacham, I expect some account from my fellows this day. If it should fall out otherwise, then I hope it may not be left so. Your majesty, in your last letter, very wisely, put in a disjunctive that the judges should deliver an opinion privately, either to my Lord Chancellor or to ourselves, distributed: his sickness, made the latter way to be taken: but the other may be reserved, with some accommodating, when we see the success of the former.

I am appointed, this day, to attend my Lord Treasurer for a proposition of raising profit and revenue, by infranchising copy-holders. I am right glad to see the patrimonial part of your revenue well look'd into, as well as the fiscal. And I hope it will so be, in other parts as well as this. God preserve your majesty.

Your majesty's most humble and devoted, subjected and servant.

A Letter to the King of account of Owen's Cause, etc. 11 February, 1614.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

Myself, with the rest of your counsel learned, conferred with my Lord Cooke and the rest of the judges of the King's Bench only, being met at my lord's chamber, concerning the business of Owen. For although it be true that your majesty in your letter did mention, that the same course might be held in the taking of opinions apart, in this which was prescribed and used in Peacham's cause; yet both my lords of the council and we, amongst ourselves, holding it, in a case so clear, not needful; but rather that it would import a diffidence in us, and deprive us of the means to debate it with the judges (if cause were) more strongly (which is somewhat) we thought best rather to use this form.

The judges desired us to leave the examinations and papers with them, for some little time, to consider (which is

a thing they use); but I conceive there will be no manner of question made of it. My Lord Chief Justice to shew forwardness (as I interpret it) showed us passages of Suarez and others, thereby to prove, that though your majesty stood not excommunicate by particular sentence, yet by the general bulls of Cæna Domini, and others, you were upon the matter excommunicate; and therefore that the treason was, as De præsenti. But I that foresee, that if that course should be held, when it cometh to a public day, to disseminate to the vulgar an opinion that your majesty's case is all one as if you were de facto particularly and expressly excommunicate, it would but increase the danger of your person with those that are desperate papists; and that it is needless; I commended my lord's diligence, but withal put it by; and fell upon the other course (which is the true way); that is, that whosoever shall affirm, in diem, or sub-conditione, that your majesty may be destroyed, is a traitor, de præsenti; for that he maketh you but tenant for life at the will of another. And I put the Duke of Buckingham's case, who said, that if the king caused him to be arrested of treason, he would stab him; and the case of the impostress Elizabeth Barton, that said, that if King Henry the Eighth took not his wife again, Katharine Dowager, he should be no longer king; and the like.

It may be these particulars are not worth the relating. But because I find nothing in the world, so important to your service as to have you throughly informed (the ability of your direction considered) it maketh me thus to do; most humbly praying your majesty to admonish me, if I be over troublesome.

For Peacham, the rest of my fellows are ready to make their report to your majesty, at such time, and in such manner, as your majesty shall require it. Myself yesterday, took my Lord Cooke aside, after the rest were gone, and told him all the rest were ready, and I was now to require

his lordship's opinion, according to my commission. He said, I should have it; and repeated that, twice or thrice, as thinking he had gone too far, in that kind of negative (to deliver any opinion apart) before; and said he would tell it me within a short time, though he were not at that instant ready. I have tossed this business, in omnes partes, whereof I will give your majesty knowledge, when time serveth. God preserve your majesty.

Your majesty's most humble, and devoted subject, and servant.

A Letter to the King, about a Certificate of my Lord Cooke. February 14, 1614.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 62.]

A Letter to the King, touching matter of his Revenue and Profit. April 25, 1615.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 30.]

A Letter to the King, reporting the Day of Hearing of I. S. his Cause, in the Star-Chamber. 29 April, 1615.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I. S.'s day is past, and well past. I hold it to be Janus bifrons; it hath a good aspect to that which is past, and to the future; and doth both satisfy and prepare. All did well: My Lord Chief Justice, delivered the law for the benevolence, strongly; I would he had done it timely. Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer spake finely, somewhat after the manner of the late lord privy seal; not all out so sharply, but as elegantly. Sir Thomas Lake (who is also new in that court) did very well, familiarly and counsellor-like. My Lord of Pembroke (who is likewise a stranger there) did extraordinary well, and became himself well, and had an evident applause. I meant

well also; and because my information was the ground, having spoken out of a few heads which I had gathered; (for I seldom do more) I set down, as soon as I came home, cursorily, a frame of that I had said; though I persuade myself I spake it with more life. I have sent it to Mr. Murray, sealed; if your majesty have so much idle time to look upon it, it may give some light of the day's work: but I most humbly pray your majesty to pardon the errors. God preserve you ever.

Your majesty's most humble subject,
and devoted servant.

A Letter to the King, concerning the New Company. August 12, 1615.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Your majesty, shall shortly receive the bill, for the incorporation of the New Company; together with a bill, for the privy seal, being a dependancy thereof. For this morning I subscribed and docketed them both. I think it therefore now time, to represent to your majesty's high wisdom that which I conceive, and have had long in mind, concerning your majesty's service and honourable profit in this business.

This project, which hath proceeded from a worthy service of the Lord Treasurer, I have from the beginning constantly affected; as may well appear by my sundry labours from time to time in the same. For I hold it a worthy character of your majesty's reign and times; insomuch, as though your majesty might have at this time (as is spoken) a great annual benefit for the quitting of it, yet I shall never be the man that should wish your majesty to deprive yourself of that beatitude; "Beatius est dare, quàm accipere," in this cause; but to sacrifice your profit, (though as your majesty's state is it be precious to you) to so great a good of your kingdom: although this project is

not without a profit, immediate unto you, by the increasing of customs upon the materials of days.

But here is the case. The New Company, by this patent and privy seal, are to have two things wholly diverse from the first intention; or rather, ex diametro, opposite unto the same; which, nevertheless, they must of necessity have or else the work is overthrown. So as I may call them, mala necessaria, but yet withal temporary. For as men make war to have peace, so these merchants must have license for Whites, to the end to banish Whites; and they must have license to use Teyntours, to the end to banish Teyntours.

This is therefore that I say; your majesty upon these two points may justly, and with honour, and with preservation of your first intention inviolate, demand profit in the interim, as long as these unnatural points continue and then to cease. For your majesty may be pleased to observe they are to have all the Old Company's profit, by the Trade of Whites; they are again to have upon the proportion of clothes, which they shall vend dyed and dressed, the Fleming's profit upon the Teyntour. Now then as I say, as it had been too good husbandry for a king to have taken profit of them if the project could have been effected at once (as was voiced); so on the other side it might be, perchance, too little husbandry and providence to take nothing of them, for that which is merely lucrative to them, in the mean time. Nay, I say further, this will greatly conduce and be a kind of security to the end desired. For I always feared, and do yet fear, that when men, by condition merchants, though never so honest, have gotten into their hands the Trades of Whites, and the dispensation of Teyntour, wherein they shall reap profit for that which they never sowed; but have gotten themselves certainties, in respect of the State's hopes; they are like enough to sleep upon this, as upon a pillow, and to make no haste to

go on with the rest. And though it may be said that that is a thing will easily appear to the state, yet (no doubt means may be devised and found to draw the business in length. So that I conclude that if your majesty take a profit of them, in the interim (considering you refuse profit from the old company) it will be both spur and bridle to them to make them pace aright to your majesty's end.

This in all humbleness, according to my avowed care and fidelity, being no man's man but your majesty's, I present, leave, and submit to your majesty's better judgment; and I could wish your majesty would speak with Sir Thomas Lake in it; who, besides his good habit which he hath in business, beareth (methinks) an indifferent hand in this particular; and (if it please your majesty) it may proceed as from yourself, and not as a motion or observation of mine.

Your majesty need not in this to be straitened in time, as if this must be demanded or treated, before you sign their bill; for I, foreseeing this, and foreseeing that many things might fall out which I could not foresee, have handled it so, as with their good contentment there is a power of revocation inserted into their patent. And so commending your majesty to God's blessed and precious custody, I rest

Your majesty's most humble and devoted
subject and servant.

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, touching Roper's place. January 22, 1615.

Sir,

Sending to the king upon occasion, I would not fail to salute you by my letter; which, that it may be more than two lines, I add this for news; that as I was sitting by my Lord Chief Justice upon the commission for the indicting of the great person, one of the judges asked him whether

Roper were dead? He saith, he for his part knew not; another of the judges answered, it should concern you, my lord, to know it. Whereupon he turned his speech to me, and said, no, Mr. Attorney, I will not wrestle now in my latter times. My lord, (said I) you speak like a wise man. Well (saith he) they have had no luck with it that have had it. I said again, "those days be past." Here you have the dialogue to make you merry, but in sadness I was glad to perceive he meant not to contest. I can but honour and love you, and rest

Your assured friend and servant.

A Letter to the King, advising how to break off with the New Company. February 3, 1615.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I spake yesternight long with my lord Cooke; and for the "Rege Inconsulto," I conceive by him it will be "an ampliùs deliberandum censeo," (as I thought at first) so as for the present your majesty shall not need to renew your commandment of stay. I spake with him also about some propositions concerning your majesty's casual revenue, wherein I found him to consent with me fully; assuming, nevertheless, that he had thought of them before; but it is one thing to have the vapour of a thought another to digest business aright. He, on his part, imparted to me divers things of great weight concerning the reparation of your majesty's means and finances, which I heard gladly; insomuch as he perceiving the same, I think was the readier to open himself to me in one circumstance, which he did much inculcate. I concur freely with him that they are to be held secret; for I never saw but that business is like a child which is framed invisibly in the womb, and if it come forth too soon it will be abortive. I know in most of them the prosecution must rest much upon myself. But I, that had

the power to prevail in the Farmer's case of the French wines, without the help of my lord Cooke, shall be better able to go through these with his help, the ground being no less just. And this I shall ever add of mine own, that I shall ever respect your majesty's honour no less than your profit; and shall also take care, according to my pensive manner, that that which is good for the present have not in it hidden seeds of future inconveniences.

The matter of the New Company was referred to me by the lords of the privy council; wherein, after some private speech with Sir Lionel Cranfield, I made that report which I held most agreeable to truth and your majesty's service. If this New Company break, it must either be put upon the patent or upon the order made by themselves. For the patent I satisfied the board that there was no title in it which was not either verbatim in the patent of the Old Company, or by special warrant from the table, inserted. My lord Cooke, with much respect to me, acknowledged, but disliked the old patent itself, and disclaimed his being at the table when the additions were allowed. But in my opinion, (howsoever my lord Cooke, to magnify his science in law, draweth every thing, though sometimes unproperly and unseasonably, to that kind of question) it is not convenient to break the business upon these points. For considering they were but clauses that were in the former patents, and in many other patents of companies, and that the additions likewise passed the allowance of the table, it will be but clamoured, and perhaps conceived, that to quarrel them now is but an occasion taken, and that the times are changed rather than the matter. But that which preserveth entire your majesty's honour, and the constancy of your proceedings, is to put the breach upon their orders.

For this light I gave in my report, which the table readily apprehended and much approved; that if the table reject their orders as unlawful and unjust it doth free you from their contract; for whosoever contracteth, or undertaketh

any thing is always understood to perform it by lawful means; so, as they have plainly abused the state if that which they have undertaken be either impossible or unjust.

I am bold to present this consideration to that excellent faculty of your majesty's judgment, because I think it importeth that future good which may grow to your majesty in the close of this business; that the falling off be without all exception. God have you in his precious custody.

Your majesty's most humble and bounden subject and servant.

A Letter to the King touching the Lord Chancellor's sickness. February 9, 1615.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I am glad to understand by Mr. Murray that your majesty accepteth well of my poor endeavours in opening unto you the passages of your service; that business may come the less crude, and the more prepared to your royal judgment, the perfection whereof, as I cannot expect they should satisfy in every particular, so I hope, through my assiduity, there will result a good total.

My lord chancellor's sickness falleth out "duro tempore." I have always known him a wise man, and of just elevation for monarchy, but your majesty's service must not be mortal; and if you lose him, as your majesty hath now of late purchased many hearts by depressing the wicked, so God doth minister unto you a counterpart to do the like by raising the honest. God evermore preserve your majesty.

Your majesty's most humble subject and bounden servant.

A Letter to the King of my Lord Chancellor's amendment, and the difference begun between the Chancery and King's Bench. Feb. 15, 1615.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 34.]

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, touching the Difference between the Court of Chancery and the King's Bench. February 19, 1615.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 35.]

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, touching a Motion, to swear him Councillor. February 21, 1615.

Sir,

My Lord Chancellor's health growing with the days, and his resignation being an uncertainty, I would be glad you went on with my first motion, my swearing privy councillor. This I desire, not so much to make myself more sure of the other, and to put it past competition; (for herein, I rest wholly upon the king, and your excellent self) but, because I find hourly, that I need this strength in his majesty's service, both for my better warrant, and satisfaction of my conscience, that I deal not in things above my vocation; and for my better countenance and prevailing where his majesty's service is under any pretext opposed, I would it were dispatched. I remember a greater matter than this, was dispatched by a letter from Royston; which was, the placing of the archbishop that now is: and I imagine, the king did on purpose, that the act might appear to be his own.

My Lord Chancellor told me yesterday, in plain terms, that if the king would ask his opinion touching the person that he would commend to succeed him, upon death or disability, he would name me for the fittest man. You may advise whether use may not be made of this offer.

I sent a pretty while since a paper to Mr. John Murray; which was indeed, a little remembrance of some things past; concerning my honest and faithful services to his majesty, not by way of boasting (from which I am far) but as tokens

of my studying his service uprightly and carefully. If you be pleased to call for the paper which is with Mr. John Murray, and to find a fit time, that his majesty may cast an eye upon it, I think it will do no hurt: and I have written to Mr. Murray to deliver the paper if you call for it. God keep you in all happiness.

Your truest servant.

A Letter to the King, concerning the Premunire, in the King's Bench, against the Chancery. February 21, 1615.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 36.]

A Letter to the King of Advice, upon the Breach of the New Company, Feb. 25, 1615.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Your privy council have wisely and truly discerned of the orders and demands of the New Company that they are unlawful and unjust, and themselves have now acknowledged the work impossible without them by their petition in writing now registered in the Council Book: so as this conclusion (of their own making) is become peremptory and final to themselves; and the impossibility confessed the practice and abuse, reserved to the judgment the state shall make of it.

This breach then of this great contract is wholly on their part; which could not have been, if your majesty had broken upon the patent: for the patent was your majesty's act, the orders are their act; and in the former case they had not been liable to further question, now they are.

There rest two things to be considered: the one, if they (like Proteus when he is hard held) shall yet again vary their shape and shall quit their orders convinced of injustice, and lay their imposition only upon the Trade of Whites, whether your majesty shall further expect? The

other, if your majesty dissolve them upon this breach on their part, what is further to be done for the setting of the trade again in joint, and for your own honour and profit? In both which points I will not presume to give opinion, but only to break the business for your majesty's better judgment.

For the first, I am sorry the occasion was given (by my Lord Cooke's speech at this time of the commitment of some of them), that they should seek, "omnem movere lapidem" to help themselves. Better it had been, if (as my Lord Fenton said to me that morning very judiciously, and with a great deal of foresight); that for that time, they should have had a bridge made for them to be gone. But my Lord Cooke floweth according to his own tides, and not according to the tides of business. The thing which my Lord Cooke said, was good and too little, but at this time it was too much. But that is past. Howsoever, if they should go back, and seek again to entertain your majesty with new orders or offers (as is said to be intended) your majesty hath ready two answers of repulse, if it please your majesty to use them.

The one, that this is now the fourth time that they have mainly broken with your majesty and contradicted themselves. First, they undertook to dye and dress all the cloths of the realm; soon after they wound themselves into the Trade of Whites, and came down to the proportion contracted. Secondly, they ought to have performed that contract according to their subscription, pro ratâ, without any of these orders and impositions: soon after they deserted their subscription, and had recourse to these devices of orders. Thirdly, if by order and not by subscription, yet their orders should have laid it upon the Whites, which is an unlawful and prohibited trade, nevertheless, they would have brought in lawful and settled trades, full manufactures, merchandize of all natures, poll money or brotherhood money and I cannot tell what. And now lastly, it seemeth

they would go back to lay it upon the Whites: And thereo re whether your majesty will any more rest and build this great wheel of your kingdom, upon these broken and brittle pins, and try experiments further upon the health and body of your state, I leave to your princely judgment.

The other answer of repulse is a kind of opposing them what they will do after the three years contracted for? Which is a point hitherto not much stirred, though Sir Lionel Cranfield hath ever beaten upon it in his speech with me: for after the three years they are not tied, otherways than as trade shall give encouragement; of which encouragement your majesty hath a bitter taste. And if they should hold on according to the third year's proportion, and not rise on by further gradation, your majesty hath not your end. No, I fear, and having long feared that this feeding of the foreigner may be dangerous. For as we may think to hold up our clothing by vent of Whites till we can dye and dress; so they (I mean the Dutch) will think to hold up their manufacture of dying and dressing upon our Whites till they can cloth: so as your majesty hath the greatest reason in the world to make the New Company to come in and strengthen that part of their contract; and they refusing (as it is confidently believed they will) to make their default more visible to all men.

For the second main part of your majesty's consultation (that is what shall be done supposing an absolute breach) I have had some speech with Mr. Secretary Lake, and likewise with Sir Lionel Cranfield; and (as I conceive) there may be three ways taken into consideration. The first is, that the Old Company be restored, who (no doubt) are in appetite, and (as I find by Sir Lionel Cranfield) not unprepared; and that the licences, the one, that of 30,000 cloths, which was the old licence; the other, that of my Lord of Cumberland's, which is without stint (my Lord of Cumberland receiving satisfaction), be compounded into

one entire licence without stint; and then that they amongst themselves take order for that profit which hath been offered to your majesty. This is a plain and known way, wherein your majesty is not an actor; only it hath this that the work of dying and dressing cloths, which hath been so much glorified, seemeth to be wholly relinquished if you leave there. The second is, that there be a free trade of cloth with this difference; that the dyed and dressed pay no custom and the Whites double custom, it a merchandize prohibited and only licentiate. This continueth in life and fame the work desired, and will have popular applause. But I do confess I did ever think, that trading in companies is most agreeable to the English nature which wanteth that same general vein of a republic, which runneth in the Dutch; and serveth to them instead of a Company. And therefore, I dare not advise to adventure this great trade of the kingdom (which hath been so long under government) in a free or loose trade. The third is, a compounded way of both which is, to go on with the Trade of Whites by the Old Company restored; and that your majesty's profit be raised by order amongst themselves, rather than by double custom wherein you must be the actor: and that nevertheless there be added a privilege to the same company to carry out cloths dyed and dressed custom free; which will still continue as a glorious beam of your majesty's royal design. I hope and wish at least that this, which I have written, may be of some use to your majesty to settle by the advice of the lords about you this great business. At the least it is the effect of my care and poor ability, which if in me be any, it is given me to no other end but faithfully to serve your majesty. God ever preserve you.

Your majesty's most humble subject,
and bounden servant.

Another Letter, to Sir George Villiers, touching a motion, to swear him Councillor. February 27, 1615.

Sir,

I humbly pray you not to think me over hasty or much in appetite, if I put you in remembrance of my motion of strengthening me with the oath and trust of a privy councillor; not for mine own strength (for as to that, I thank God I am armed within) but for the strength of my service. The times, I submit to you who knoweth them best. But sure I am, there were never times which did more require a king's attorney to be well armed, and (as I said once to you) to wear a gauntlet and not a glove. The arraignments when they proceed; the contention between the Chancery and King's Bench; the great cause of the Rege inconsulto, which is so precious to the king's prerogative; divers other services that concern the king's revenue, and the repair of his estate. Besides, it pleaseth his majesty to accept well of my relations touching his business; which may seem a kind of interloping (as the merchants call it) for one that is no councillor. But I leave all unto you, thinking myself infinitely bounden unto you for your great favours; the beams whereof I see plainly reflect upon me even from others: so that now I have no greater ambition than this; that as the king sheweth himself to you the best master, so I might be found your best servant. In which wish and vow, I shall ever rest.

Most devoted and affectionate to obey your commands.

A Letter to the King, upon some inclination of his Majesty to him, for the Chancellor's Place, April, 1616.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 43.]

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, touching his swearing Councillor, May 30, 1616.

Sir,

The time is, as I should think, now or never, for his majesty to finish his good meaning towards me; if it please him to consider what is past, and what is to come.

If I would tender my profit, and oblige men unto me by my place and practice, I could have more profit than I could devise, and could oblige all the world and offend none; which is a brave condition for a man's private. But my heart is not on these things. Yet, on the other side, I would be sorry that worthless persons should make a note that I get nothing but pains and enemies; and a little popular reputation, which followeth me whether I will or no. If any thing be to be done for yourself, I should take infinite contentment, that my honour might wait upon yours: But I would be loath it should wait upon any man's else. If you would put your strength to this business it is done; and that done many things more will begin. God keep you ever; I rest,

Your true and devoted servant.

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, upon the choice his Majesty gave him, whether he would be sworn Councillor or have assurance to succeed the Chancellor, June 3, 1616.

Sir,

The king giveth me a noble choice, and you are the man, my heart ever told me you were. Ambition would draw me to the latter part of the choice; but in respect of my hearty wishes that my Lord Chancellor may live long, and the small hopes I have, that I shall live long myself, and above all, because I see his majesty's service daily and

instantly bleedeth; towards which I persuade myself (vainly perhaps, but yet in mine own thoughts firmly and constantly) that I shall give, when I am of the table, some effectual furtherance (as a poor thread of the labyrinth, which hath no other virtue but an united continuance without interruption or distraction), I do accept of the former to be councillor for the present, and to give over pleading at bar; let the other matter rest upon my proof and his majesty's pleasure; and the accidents of time. For to speak plainly I would be loath that my Lord Chancellor, to whom I owe most after the king and yourself, should be locked to his successor for any advancement or gracing of me. So I ever remain.

Your true, and most devoted,
and obliged servant.

To his very Honourable good Friend, Sir George Villiers, Master of the Horse to his Majesty, and of the most Noble Order of the Garter, June 12, 1616.

Sir,

I send his majesty a draught of the act of council, concerning the judges' letter; penned as near as I could to his majesty's instructions received in your presence. I then told his majesty my memory was not able to keep way with his, and therefore his majesty will pardon me for any omission or errors, and be pleased to supply and reform the same. I am preparing some other materials for his majesty's excellent hand concerning business that is coming on. For since his majesty hath renewed my heart within me methinks I should double my endeavours. God ever preserve and prosper you; I rest.

Your most devoted
and bounden servant.

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, for the restoring of Doctor Burgis to preach, June 12, 1616.

Sir,

I do think you may do yourself honour, and (that which is more) do a good work, if you will assist and perfect a motion begun (and that upon a good ground, both of submission and conformity) for the restoring of Doctor Burgis to preach; and I wish, likewise, that if Gray's-Inn should think good (after he is free from the state) to choose him for their preacher his majesty should not be against it; for certainly we should watch him well if he should fly forth; so as he cannot be placed in a more safe auditory. This may seem a trifle, but I do assure you, I do scarce know a particular wherein you may open more honest mouths to speak honour of you than this. And I do extremely desire there may be a full cry from all sorts of people (especially the best) to speak and to trumpet out your commendations. I pray you take it to heart, and do somewhat in it. I rest.

Your devoted and bounden servant.

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, of Advice concerning Ireland; from Gorhambury to Windsor. July 5, 1616.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 44.]

A Letter from the King's Attorney-General to the Master of the Horse, upon the sending of his Bill for Viscount. August 5, 1616.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 59.]

A Letter to Sir George Villiers upon the sending his Patent of Viscount Villiers to be signed. August 12, 1616.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 60.]

A Letter to the King touching Sir George Villiers' Patent for Baron of Bletchley and Viscount Villiers. August 12, 1616.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I have sent Sir George Villiers' patent, drawn again, containing also a barony; the name Bletchley is his own, and to my thinking soundeth better than Whaddon. I have included both in one patent to avoid a double preface, and as hath been used in the patents of earls of like nature; nevertheless, the ceremony of robing, and otherwise, is to be double, as is also used in like case of earls.

It resteth that I express unto your majesty my great joy in your honouring and advancing this gentleman; whom to describe, not with colours, but with true lines, I may say this; your majesty certainly hath found out and chosen a safe nature, a capable man, an honest will, generous and noble affections, and a courage well lodged; and one, that I know, loveth your majesty unfeignedly; and admireth you as much as is in a man to admire his sovereign upon earth. Only your majesty's school (wherein he hath already so well profited as in this entrance upon the stage, being the time of greatest danger, he hath not committed any manifest error;) will add perfection to your majesty's comfort, and the great contentment of your people. God ever preserve and prosper your majesty. I rest in all humbleness

Your majesty's most bounden and most devoted subject and servant.

A Letter to Sir George Villiers upon the sending of his Patent for the creation of Viscount, sealed August 20, 1616.

Sir,

I took much contentment in that I perceive by your

letter that you took in so good part the freedom of my advice, and that yourself in your own nature consented therewith. Certainly no service is comparable to good counsel; and the reason is, because no man can do so much for another as a man may do for himself; now good counsel helpeth a man to help himself, but you have so happy a master as supplieth all; my service and good will shall not be wanting.

It was graciously and kindly done also of his majesty towards me to tell you that you were beholding to me; but it must be then, for thinking of you as I do; for otherwise, for speaking as I think, it is but the part of an honest man. I send you your patent, whereof God give you joy: and I send you here inclosed a little note of remembrance for that part of the ceremony which concerneth the patent; for, as for other ceremonies I leave to others.

My Lord Chancellor dispatched your patent presently upon the receipt; and wrote to me how glad he was of it, and how well he wished you. If you writ to him a few words of thanks I think you shall do well. God keep you, and prosper you.

Your true and most devoted servant.

A Letter to Sir George Villiers, acknowledging the King's Favour in granting some suit of his. August 22, 1616.

Sir,

I am more and more bound unto his majesty, who I think knowing me to have other ends than ambition is contented to make me judge of mine own desires. I am now beating my brains (amongst many cares of his majesty's business) touching the redeeming of time in this business of cloth. The great question is, how to miss, or how to mate the Flemings; how to pass by them, or how to pass over hem.

In my next letter I shall alter your stile; but I shall never whilst I breath alter mine own stile in being

Your true and most devoted servant.

The Lord Keeper's Letter to the University, in answer of their congratulation at his first coming to that place.

To the Renowned University of Cambridge, his dear and reverend Mother.

My Lord,

I am debtor to you of your letters, and of the time likewise that I have taken to answer them; but as soon as I could choose what to think on, I thought good to let you know, that although you may err much in your valuation of me, yet you shall not be deceived in your assurance; and for the other part also, though the manner be to mend the picture by the life, yet I would be glad to mend the life by the picture, and to become, and be, as you express me to be. Your gratulations shall be no more welcome to me than your business or occasions, which I will attend; and yet not so but that I shall endeavour to prevent them by my care of your good. And so I commend you to God's goodness.

Your most loving and assured friend and son,

FR. BACON, C. S.

Gorhambury, April 12, 1617.

A Letter of King James, written to his Lordship when he was Lord Chancellor, with his Majesty's own Hand, upon the sending to him his Book of Instauratio Magna, then newly published.

My Lord,

I have received your letter, and your book; than the which you could not have sent a more acceptable present

unto me. How thankful I am for it cannot better be expressed by me than by a firm resolution I have taken; first, to read it thorough with care and attention, though I should steal some hours from my sleep, having otherwise as little spare time to read it as you had to write it. And then, to use the liberty of a true friend in not sparing to ask you the question in any point where I shall stand in doubt; "Nam ejus est explicare cujus est condere;" as, on the other part, I will willingly give a due commendation to such places as in my opinion shall deserve it. In the meantime, I can with comfort assure you, that you could not have made choice of a subject more befitting your place, and your universal methodic knowledge; and in the general, I have already observed, that you jump with me in taking the mid way between the two extremes; as also in some particulars I have found that you agree fully with my opinion. And so praying God to give your work as good success as your heart can wish, and your labours deserve, I bid you heartily farewell.

JAMES REX.

October 16, 1620.

To my Lord of Essex.

My singular good Lord,

I may perceive, by my Lord Keeper, that your lordship, as the time served, signified unto him an intention to confer with his lordship at better opportunity; which in regard of your several and weighty occasions I have thought good to put your lordship in remembrance of; that now at his coming to the court it may be executed; desiring your good lordship, nevertheless, not to conceive out of this my diligence in soliciting this matter, that I am either much in appetite or much in hope. For as for appetite, the waters of Parnassus are not like the waters of the spa that give a stomach, but rather they quench appetite and desires; and for hope, how can he hope much that can allege no other

reason than the reason of an evil debtor, who will persuade his creditor to lend him new sums, and to enter further in with him to make him satisfy the old? And to her majesty no other reason but the reason of a waterman; I am her first man of those who serve in counsel of law. And so I commit your lordship to God's best preservation.

To my Lord of Essex.

My Lord,

Conceiving that your lordship came now up in the person of a good servant to see your sovereign mistress; which kind of compliments are many times "instar magnorum meritorum;" and therefore that it would be hard for me to find you, I have committed to this poor paper the humble salutations of him that is more yours than any man's; and more yours than any man. To these salutations I add a due and joyful gratulation, confessing that your lordship, in your last conference with me before your journey, spake not in vain, God making it good, that you trusted we should say, "quis putasset?" Which, as it is found true in a happy sense, so I wish you do not find another "quis putasset," in the manner of taking this so great a service; but I hope it is as he said, "nubecula est citò transibit;" and that your lordship's wisdom and obsequious circumspection and patience will turn all to the best. So referring all to some time that I may attend you, I commit you to God's best preservation.

To my Lord of Essex.

My Lord,

I am glad your lordship hath plunged out of your own business; wherein I must commend your lordship as Xenophon commended the state of his country, which was this: that having chosen the worst form of government of all

others, they governed the best in that kind. " Hoc pace et veniâ tuâ," according to my charter. Now as your lordship is my witness that I would not trouble you whilst your own cause was in hand, (though that I know that the further from the term the better the time was to deal for me) so that being concluded I presume I shall be one of your next cares. And having communicated with my brother of some course either to perfit the first, or to make me some other way; or rather, by seeming to make me some other way, to perfit the first, wherewith he agreed to acquaint your lordship; I am desirous, for mine own better satisfaction, to speak with your lordship myself, which I had rather were somewhere else than at court; and as soon as your lordship will assign me to wait on you. And so in, etc.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

Sir,

Your honour knoweth my manner is, though it be not the wisest way, yet taking it for the honestest, to do as Alexander did by his physician in drinking the medicine and delivering the advertisement of suspicion; so I trust on and yet do not smother what I hear. I do assure you, Sir, that by a wise friend of mine, and not factious toward your honour, I was told with asseveration, that your honour was bought by Mr. Coventry for 2000 angels; and that you wrought in a contrary spirit to my lord your father. And he said further, that from your servants, from your lady, from some counsellors that have observed you in my business, he knew you wrought under hand against me. The truth of which tale I do not believe; you know the event will shew, and God will right. But as I reject this report, (though the strangeness of my case might make me credulous,) so I admit a conceit that the last messenger my lord and yourself used, dealt ill with your honours; and

that word (speculation) which was in the queen's mouth, rebounded from him as a commendation, for I am not ignorant of those little arts. Therefore, I pray, trust not him again in my matter. This was much to write, but I think my fortune will set me at liberty, who am weary of asserviling myself to every man's charity. Thus I, etc.

To Sir John Stanhope.

Sir,

Your good promises sleep, which it may seem now no time to awake, but that I do not find that any general calendar of observation of time serveth for the court; and besides, if that be done which I hope by this time is done, and that other matter shall be done which we wish may be done, I hope to my poor matter, the one of these great matters may clear the way and the other give the occasion. And though my Lord Treasurer be absent, whose health, nevertheless, will enable him to be sooner at court than is expected; especially if this hard weather (too hard to continue) shall relent; yet we abroad say, his lordship's spirit may be there though his person be away. Once I take for a good ground that her majesty's business ought to keep neither vacation nor holiday either in the execution or in the care and preparation of those whom her majesty calleth and useth; and therefore I would think no time barred from remembering that with such discretion and respect as appertaineth. The conclusion shall be to put you in mind to maintain that which you have kindly begun according to the reliance I have upon the sincerity of your affection and the soundness of your judgement. And so I commend you to God's preservation.

To my Lord of Essex.

It may please your good Lordship,

I am very sorry her majesty should take my motion to

travail in offence; but surely, under her majesty's royal correction, it is such an offence as it should be an offence to the sun when a man to avoid the scorching heat thereof flieth into the shade. And your lordship may easily think, that having now these twenty years (for so long it is and more, since I went with Sir Amyas Paulett into France, from her majesty's royal hand) I made her majesty's service the scope of my life: I shall never find a greater grief than this, "relinquere amorem primum." But since "principia actionum sunt tantûm in nostrâ potestate;" I hope her majesty of her clemency, yea, and justice, will pardon me, and not force me to pine here with melancholy. For though mine heart be good yet mine eyes will be sore, so as I shall have no pleasure to look abroad, and if I should otherwise be affected, her majesty in her wisdom will think me an impudent man that would face out a disgrace; therefore, as I have ever found you my good lord and true friend, so I pray open the matter so to her majesty as she may discern the necessity of it, without adding hard conceit to her rejection; of which I am sure the latter I never deserved. Thus, etc.

To the Lord Treasurer.

It may please your good Lordship,

I am to give you humble thanks for your favourable opinion, which by Mr. Secretary's report I find you conceive of me for the obtaining of a good place which some of my honourable friends have wished unto me, "nec opinanti." I will use no reason to persuade your lordship's mediation but this, that your lordship and my other friends shall in this beg my life of the queen; for I see well the bar will be my bier, as I must and will use it rather than my poor estate or reputation shall decay; but I stand indifrent whether God call me or her majesty. Had I that in possession which by your lordship's only means against the

greatest opposition her majesty granted me, I would never trouble her majesty, but serve her still voluntarily without pay. Neither do I in this more than obey my friends' conceits as one that would not be wholly wanting to myself. Your lordship's good opinion doth somewhat confirm me as that I take comfort in above all others; assuring your lordship that I never thought so well of myself for any one thing as that I have found a fitness to my thinking in myself to observe and revere your virtues; for the continuance whereof in the prolonging of your days I will still be your beadsman; accordingly, at this time, commend your lordship to the divine protection.

To Foulk Grevil.

Sir,

I understand of your pains to have visited me, for which I thank you. My matter is an endless question. I assure you, I had said, "requiesce anima mea;" but now I am otherwise put to my psalter, "nolite confidere," I dare go no farther. Her majesty had by set speech more than once assured me of her intention to call me to her service; which I could not understand but of the place I had been named to. And now, whether "invidus homo hoc fecit," or whether my matter must be an appendix to my Lord of Essex' suit, or whether her majesty pretending to prove my ability, meaneth but to take advantage of some errors, which, like enough, at one time or other I may commit, or what it is, but her majesty is not ready to dispatch it. And what though the Master of the Rolls and my Lord of Essex, and yourself and others think my case without doubt, yet in the mean time I have a hard condition to stand so, that whatsoever service I do to her majesty it shall be thought to be but "servitium viscatum," lime-twigs and fetches to place myself; and so I shall have envy not thanks. This is a course to quench all good spirits, and to

corrupt every man's nature; which will, I fear, much hurt her majesty's service in the end. I have been like a piece of stuff bespoken in the shop: and if her majesty will not take me it may be the selling by parcels will be more gainful. For to be as I told you like a child following a bird, which when he is nearest flieth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again, and so in infinitum, I am weary of it: as also of wearying my good friends, of whom nevertheless I hope in one course or other gratefully to deserve. And so not forgetting your business I leave to trouble you with this idle letter, being but "justa et moderata querimonia." For indeed, I do confess, "primus amor," will not easily be cast off. And thus again I commend me to you.

To the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

Most honourable, and my very good Lord,

I know, I may commit an error in writing this letter both in a time of great and weighty business; as also when myself am not induced thereto, by any new particular occasion: And thereof, your lordship may impute to me either levity or ignorance, what appertaineth to good respects and forwardness of dealing; especially to an honourable person, in whom there is such concurrence of magnitudo honoris et oneris as it is hard to say, whether is the greater. But I answer my self first, that I have ever noted it as a part of your lordship's excellent wisdom, "parvis componere magna," that you do not exclude inferior matters of access amongst the care of great. And for myself, I thought it would better manifest what I desire to express, if I did write out of a deep and settled consideration of my own duty, rather than upon the spur of a particular occasion. And therefore, (my singular good lord) "ex abundantia cordis," I must acknowledge how greatly and diversly your lordship hath vouchsafed to tie me unto you by many your

benefits. The reversion of the office which your lordship only procured unto me, and carried through great and vehement opposition, though it yet bear no fruit, yet it is one of the fairest flowers of my poor estate; your lordship's constant and serious endeavours to have me Solicitor: your late honourable wishes, for the place of the wards. Together with your lordship's attempt to give me way by the remove of Mr. Solicitor; they be matters of singular obligation; besides many other favours, as well by your lordship's grants from yourself, as by your commendation to others, which I have had for my help; and may justly persuade myself out of the few denials I have received, that fewer might have been, if mine own industry and good hap had been answerable to your lordship's goodness. But on the other side, I most humbly pray your lordship's pardon if I speak it; the time is yet to come, that your lordship did ever use or command, or employ me in my profession in any services or occasion of your lordship's own, or such as are near unto your lordship; which hath made me fear sometimes that your lordship doth more honourably affect me than throughly discern of my most humble and dutiful affection to your lordship again. Which if it were not in me, I know not whether I were unnatural, unthankful, or unwise. This causeth me, most humbly to pray your lordship, (and I know mine own case too well to speak it as weening I can do your lordship service, but as willing to do it, as) to believe that your lordship is upon just title a principal owner and proprietor of that I cannot call talent but mite that God hath given me; which I ever do and shall devote to your service. And in like humble manner I pray your lordship to pardon mine errors and not to impute unto me the errors of any other; (which I know also, themselves have by this time left and forethought): but to conceive of me to be a man that daily profiteth in duty. It is true, I do in part comfort myself, supposing that it is my weakness

and insufficiency that moveth your lordship, who hath so general a command to use others more able. But let it be as it is; for duty only and homage I will boldly undertake that nature and true thankfulness shall never give place to a politic dependence. Lastly, I most humbly desire your lordship to continue unto me the good favour and countenance and encouragement in the course of my poor travails; whereof I have had some taste and experience; for the which, I yield your lordship my very humble good thanks. And so again craving your honour's pardon for so long a letter carrying so empty an offer of so unpuissant a service, but yet a true and unfeigned signification of an honest and vowed duty, I cease commending your lordship to the preservation of the divine majesty.

To my Lord of Essex.

Most honourable and my singular good Lord,

I cannot but importune your lordship with thanks for your lordship's remembering my name to my Lord Keeper; which being done in such an article of time could not but be exceedingly enriched both in demonstration and effect: which I did well discern by the manner of expressing thereof by his lordship again to me. This accumulating of your lordship's favours upon me hitherto worketh only this effect; that it raiseth my mind to aspire to be found worthy of them; and likewise to merit and serve you for them. But whether I shall be able to pay my vows or no, I must leave that to God, who hath them in deposito. Whom also, I most instantly beseech to give you fruit of your actions beyond that your heart can propound. "Nam Deus major est corde." Even to the environing of his benedictions I recommend your lordship.

To Sir Thomas Lucy.

Sir,

There was no news better welcome to me this long time,

than that of the good success of my kinsman; wherein if he be happy he cannot be happy alone it consisting of two parts. And I render you no less kind thanks for your aid and favour towards him, than if it had been for myself; assuring you that this bond of alliance shall on my part tie me to give all the tribute to your good fortune upon all occasions that my poor strength can yield. I send you so required an abstract of the lands of inheritance, and one lease of great value which my kinsman bringeth, with a note of the tenures, values, contents, and state, truly and perfectly drawn; whereby you may perceive the land is good land, and well countenanced by scope of acres, woods and royalties, though the total of the rents be set down as it now goeth without improvement: in which respect it may somewhat differ from your first note. Out of this what he will assure in jointure I leave it to his own kindness; for I love not to measure affection. To conclude, I doubt not your daughter might have married to a better living, but never to a better life; having chosen a gentleman bred to all honesty, virtue, and worth, with an estate convenient. And if my brother or myself were either thrivers, or fortunate in the queen's service, I would hope there should be left as great an house of the Cookes in this gentleman as in your good friend Mr. Attorney General. But sure I am, if scriptures fail not, it will have as much of God's blessing and sufficiency as ever the best feast, &c.

To Sir Robert Cecil, at his being in France.

It may please you honourable lordship,

I know you will pardon this my observance in writing to you empty of matter, but out of the fulness of my love. I am sorry that as your time of absence is prolonged above that was esteemed at your lordship's setting forth; so now, upon this last advertisement received from you there groweth an opinion amongst better than the vulgar, that the difficulties also of your negociation are increased. But

because I know the gravity of your nature to be not to hope lightly, it maketh me to despair the less. For you are "natus ad ardua:" and the indisposition of the subject may honour the skill of the workman. Sure I am, judgment and diligence shall not want in your lordship's self: but this was not my purpose; being only to signify unto your lordship my continual and incessant love towards you, thirsting after your return for many respects. So I commend you ever to the good preservation of the divine majesty. Gray's-Inn.

At your honour's commandment, ever,
and particularly.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

My singular good Lord,

The argument of my letters to your lordship rather increaseth than spendeth; it being only the desire I have to salute you: which by your absence is more augmented than abated. For me to write your lordship occurrences either of Scottish brags or Irish plants, or Spanish ruffling, or Low Country states were (besides that it is "alienum quiddam," from mine own humour) to forget to whom I write; save that you, that know true advertisements, sometimes desire and delight to hear common reports; as we that know but common reports desire to hear the truth. But to leave such as write to your fortunes I write to yourself in regard of my love to you, you being as near to me in heart's blood as in blood of descent. This day I had the contentment to see your father upon occasion; and methought his lordship's countenance was not decayed, nor his cough vehement; but his voice was as faint all the while as at first. Thus wishing your lordship a happy and speedy return, I commend you to the Divine Majesty.

To the Queen.

It may please your sacred Majesty,

I would not fail to give your majesty my most humble and due thanks for your royal choice of such commissioners in the great Star-chamber cause; being persons besides their honour of such science and integrity. By whose report I doubt not but your majesty will find that which you have been heretofore informed (both by my Lord Keeper, and by some much meaner person) touching the nature of that cause to be true. This preparatory hearing doth already assail me with new and enlarged offers of composition; which if I had borne a mind to have hearkened unto, this matter had been quenched long ago without any benefit to your majesty. But your majesty's benefit is to me in greater regard than mine own particular: trusting to your majesty's gracious disposition and royal word, that your majesty will include me in any extraordinary course of your sovereign pleasure, which your majesty shall like to take in this cause. The other man I spoke to your majesty of, may within these two terms be in the same straits between your majesty's justice and mercy, that this man now is, if your majesty be so pleased. So most humbly craving pardon for my presuming to seek access for these few lines, I recommend your majesty to the most precious custody, and best preservation of the Divine Majesty.

Your majesty's, most humble, and entirely
obedient servant and subject.

To the Queen.*

It may please your Majesty,

It were great simplicity in me to look for better than that your majesty should cast away my letter as you have done me; were it not that it is possible your majesty will

* Written by Mr. Bacon for my Lord of Essex.

think to find somewhat in it, whereupon your displeasure may take hold; and so indignation may obtain that of you which favour could not. Neither might I in reason presume to offer unto your majesty dead lines, myself being excluded as I am; were it not upon this only argument or subject; namely, to clear myself in point of duty. Duty though my state lie buried in the sands, and my favours be cast upon the waters, and my honours be committed to the wind; yet standeth surely built upon the rock, and hath been, and ever shall be unforced and unattempted. And therefore, since the world out of error, and your majesty I fear out of art is pleased to put upon me; that I have so much as any election or will in this my absence from attendance; I cannot but leave this protestation with your majesty: That I am and have been merely a patient, and take myself only to obey and execute your majesty's will. And indeed madam, I had never thought it possible that your majesty could have so disinterested yourself of me; nor that you had been so perfect in the art of forgetting; nor that after a quintessence of wormwood, your majesty would have taken so large a draught of poppy; as to have passed so many summers without all feeling of my sufferings. But the only comfort I have is this, that I know your majesty taketh delight and contentment in executing this disgrace upon me. And since your majesty can find no other use of me, I am glad yet I can serve for that. Thus making my most humble petition to your majesty, that in justice (howsoever you may by strangeness untie, or by violence cut asunder all other knots) your majesty would not touch me in that which is indissoluble; that is, point of duty: and that your majesty will pardon this my unwarranted presumption of writing, being to such an end: I cease in all humbleness;

Your majesty's poor, and never
so unworthy servant,
ESSEX.

To my Lord of Essex.

It may please your Lordship,

That your lordship is in "statu quo prius," no man taketh greater gladness than I do; the rather, because I assure myself that of your eclipses, as this hath been the longest, it shall be the least; as the comical poet saith, "neque illam tu satis noveras, neque te illa, hoc ubi fit, ibi non vivitur." For if I may be so bold as to say what I think, I believe your lordship looked to have found her majesty in all points as you have done; neither her majesty, per case, looked to have found your lordship as she hath done. And therefore I hope upon this experience may grow more perfect knowledge, and upon knowledge more true consent; which I for my part do infinitely wish, as accounting these accidents to be like the fish, remora, which, though it be not great, yet hath it a hidden property to hinder the sailing of the ship. And therefore, as bearing unto your lordship, after her majesty, of all public persons the second duty, I could not but signify unto you my affectionate gratulation. And so I commend your good lordship to the best preservation of the Divine Majesty.

From Gray's-Inn.

To my Lord Treasurer Burghley.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 5.]

To the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

[Inserted in this Vol. p. 7.]

To Sir Robert Cecil.

It may please your good Honour,

I am apt enough to condemn "mendacia famæ," yet it is with this distinction, as fame walks among inferiors, and

not as it hath entrance into some ears. And yet, nevertheless, in that kind also, I intend to avoid a suspicious silence, but not to make any base apology. It is blown about the town that I should give opinion touching my lord of Essex' cause; first, that it was a premunire; and now last, that it reached to high treason. And this opinion should be given in opposition to the opinion of the Lord Chief Justice, and of Mr. Attorney-General. Sir, I thank God, whatsoever opinion my head serveth me to deliver to her majesty, being asked, my heart serveth me to maintain; the same honest duty directing me and assisting me. But the utter untruth of this report God and the queen can witness; and the improbability of it every man that hath wit, more or less, can conceive. The root of this I discern to be not so much a light and humourous envy at my accesses to her majesty, (which of her majesty's grace being begun in my first years, I would be sorry she should estrange in my last years, for so I account them, reckoning by health, not by age;) as a deep malice to your honourable self; upon whom, by me, through nearness, they think to make some aspersion. But, as I know no remedy against libels and lies, so I hope it shall make no manner of disseverance of your honourable good conceits and affection towards me; which is the thing I confess to fear. For as for any violence to be offered to me, wherewith my friends tell me, to no small terror, that I am threatened, I thank God I have the privy coat of a good conscience; and have a good while since put off any fearful care of life, or the accidents of life. So desiring to be preserved in your good opinion, I remain.

To the Queen.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I presume, according to the ceremony and good manner of the time, and my accustomed duty, in all humbleness to present your majesty with a simple gift; almost as far from

answering my mind as sorting with your greatness; and therewith wish that we may continue to reckon on, and ever your majesty's happy years of reign: and they that reckon upon any other hopes I would they might reckon short, and to their cost. And so craving pardon most humbly, I commend your majesty to the preservation of the divine goodness.

To the Queen.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I most humbly entreat your majesty not to impute my absence to any weakness of mind or unworthiness. But I assure your majesty I do find envy beating so strongly upon me, standing as I do, (if this be to stand) as it were not strength of mind but stupidity, if I should not decline the occasions, except I could do your majesty more service than I can any ways discern that I am able to do. My course towards your majesty (God is my witness) hath been pure and unleavened; and never poor gentleman (as I am persuaded) had a deeper and truer desire and care of your glory, your safety, your repose of mind, your service; wherein if I have exceeded my outward vocation, I most humbly crave your majesty's pardon for my presumption. On the other side, if I have come short of my inward vocation, I most humbly crave God's pardon for quenching the spirit. But in this mind I find such solitude, and want of comfort, which I judge to be because I take duty too exactly, and not according to the dregs of this age, wherein the old anthem might never be more truly sung; "Totus mundus in maligno positus est." My life hath been threatened, and my name libelled, which I count an honour; but these are the practices of those whose despairs are dangerous, but yet not so dangerous as their hopes; or else the devices of some that would put out all your majesty's lights, and fall on reckoning how many years you have reigned, which

I beseech our blessed Saviour may be doubled: and that I may never live to see any eclipse of your glory, interruption of safety, or indisposition of your person, which I commend to the Divine Majesty, who keep you and fortify you.

To my Lord Hen. Howard.

My Lord,

There be very few besides yourself to whom I would perform this respect; for I contemn "mendacia famæ," as it walks among inferiors; though I neglect it not, as it may have entrance into some ears. For your lordship's love, rooted upon good opinion, I esteem it highly, because I have tasted the fruits of it; and we both have tasted of the best waters, in my account, to knit minds together. There is shaped a tale in London's forge that beateth apace at this time; that I should deliver opinion to the queen in my lord of Essex' cause. First, that it was premunire, and now last, that it was high treason; and this opinion to be in opposition and encounter of the Lord Chief Justice's opinion, and the Attorney-General's. My lord (I thank God) my wit serveth me not to deliver any opinion to the queen which my stomach serveth me not to maintain: one and the same conscience of duty guiding me, and fortifying me. But the untruth of this fable God and my sovereign can witness, and there I leave it: knowing no more remedy against lies than others do against libels. The root, no question of it is, partly, some light-headed envy at my accesses to her majesty, which being begun and continued since my childhood, as long as her majesty shall think me worthy of them I scorn those that shall think the contrary. And another reason is, the aspersion of this tale, and the envy thereof, upon some greater man, in regard of my nearness. And therefore (my lord) I pray you answer for me to any person that you think worthy your own reply, and my defence. For my lord of Essex, I am not servile to him, having

regard to my superior's duty. I have been much bound unto him; and on the other side, I have spent more time and more thoughts about his well-doing than ever I did about mine own. I pray God you his friends amongst you be in the right. "Nulla remedia, tam faciunt dolorem, quam quæ sunt salutaria." For my part, I have deserved better than to have my name objected to envy, or my life to a ruffian's violence; but I have the privy coat of a good conscience. I am sure these courses and bruits hurt my lord more than all. So having written to your lordship, I desire exceedingly to be preferred in your good opinion and love, and so leave you to God's goodness.

The Earl of Essex' Letter to the Council, at his embarking for Spain. June 1596.

My very good Lords,

Having taken order for all things that belong to our land forces, and staying only till the ships be ready to take in our soldiers, I am come aboard, as well to draw other men by my example to leave the shore, as to have time and leisure to ask account of myself what other duty I have to do, besides the governing of those troops, and the using of them to good purpose. In which meditation, as I first study to please my most gracious sovereign, as well as to serve her; so my next care is, to leave your lordships well satisfied of my past carriage since I was nominated to this service; and apt to make favourable construction of what I shall do hereafter.

In my past carriage I will neither plead merit nor excuse imperfections: for whatsoever I shall be able to do I know is less than I owe; and besides my faults, my very faith and zeal (which are the best things in me) do make me commit errors. But I would fain approve the matter itself of undertaking this service to have been good, howsoever my former have been erroneous; or at least, my intent and

ends unblameable, though my judgment were faulty. Your lordships know it hath been the wisdom of all times rather to attempt and do something in another country than to attend an enemy, and be in danger much in our own. And if this rule among the ancients was generally held true, it might be better allowed of us in particular cases where a state little in territory, not extraordinary rich, and defended only with itself shall have to do with another state that hath many and ample dominions, the treasure of the Indies, and all the mercenaries of Christendom to serve it. For we have, as the Athenians had with the ancient usurping Philip; "prælium facile, bellum difficile." Therefore it is our disadvantage to draw the war into length. And if any man in this kingdom should be allowed to persuade to prevention he might be one that saw the Spaniard at home apprehend an invasion with greater terror than he makes it abroad: and that was a witness how an handful of men, neither armed, victualled, nor ordered as they should be, landed, marched, and had done what they listed, if either the ships had come up, or they had any provisions to make a hole in a wall or to break open a gate. But though the counsel be good for some states, and for our's at some times, yet the opportunities ought to be watched, and it must appear that this it is which is now taken. The opportunity for such service I take to be when either the enemy may receive the most hurt, or when he is likeliest to attempt against us, if he be not impeached. The hurt that our estate should seek to do him is, to intercept his treasure, whereby we shall cut his sinews, and make war upon him with his own money; and to beat, or at least discontinue him from the sea, whereby her majesty shall be, both secured from his invasions, and become mistress of the sea; which is the greatness that the queen of an island should most aspire unto. In matter of profit we may this journey most hurt him, and benefit ourselves; since he hath (as is agreed on by all men) more caracks to

come home now than ever any year before. Besides many good advantages which shall be offered if we command the coast. And to give him a blow, and discountenance him by sea now is the time, when he hath declared his ambition to command the seas; and yet, so divided his fleets: some appointed to be set out, and yet scant in readiness; others upon point of coming home, and not fit to defend themselves, if either they be met at sea, or found in harbour; and all so dispersed in several places as if at any time we might do good that way it is now. And whether he will make war upon us, if we let him alone: let his solicitations, offers and gifts to the rebels of Ireland; his besieging and winning of Calais, and those parts of France that front upon us; and his strengthening himself by sea by so many means; let these things (I say) tell us. So, as if we will at any time allow the counsel of prevention to be reasonable we must now confess it to be opportune. But whatsoever the counsel were I am not to be charged with it. For as I was not the contriver, nor offerer of the project, so if I had refused to join with him, (that did invite me to it) I should have been thought both incompatible and backward in her majesty's service. I say not this, for that I think the action such as it were disadvantage to be thought the projector of it; but I say, and say truly, that my Lord Admiral devised it, presented it to her majesty, and had as well the approbation of her majesty and the assent of such of your lordships as were acquainted with it as my promise to go with him. One thing (I confess) I above all men am to be charged withal: that is, that when her majesty's, the city of London's, and the states of the Low Countries' charge was past, the men levied and marching to the rendezvous; I could not see how with her majesty's honour and safety the journey might be broken. Wherein, although I should be carried with passion, yet I pray your lordships consider who almost that had been in my case named to such an action, voiced

throughout Christendom, and engaged in it as much as I was worth; and being the instrument of drawing more voluntary men of their own charge than ever was seen these many years: who (I say) would not have been so affected? But far be it from me, in any action of this importance to weigh myself or my particular fortunes. I must beseech your lordships to remember that I was from time to time warranted by all your opinions delivered both amongst yourselves and to her majesty; which tieth you all to allow the counsel. And that being granted your lordships will call that zeal, which maketh a man constant in a good counsel that would be passion in an evil, or a doubtful. I confess, her majesty offered us recompence for all our charges and losses. But (my lords) I pray your lordships consider how many things I should have sold at once for money? I will leave mine own reputation as too small a matter to be mentioned. But I should have sold the honour of her majesty, the safety of the state, the contentment of her confederates, the fortune and hope of many of my poor countrymen, and the possibility of giving a blow to that enemy that ought ever to be hateful to all true English hearts. I should have sold all this for private profit; therefore, though I ask pardon of her majesty, and pray your lordships to mediate it for me, that I was carried by this zeal so fast that I forgot those reverend forms which I should have used, yet I had rather have my heart out of my body than his zeal out of my heart. And now, as I have laid before your lordships my past carriage, and entering into this action, so I beseech your lordships give me leave to prepare you to a favourable construction of that which I shall do hereafter; in which suit I am resolved neither to plead the hazarding of life, nor spending of my substance in a public service; to the end that I might find your lordships (who are public persons) more favourable judges: but will confess, that I receive so much favour and honour by this trust and employ-

ment, as when I have done all I can I shall still be behind hand. This suit only I make, that your lordships will neither have too great an expectation of our actions, nor too little, lest all we do seem either nothing, or to be done by chance. I know we must be tied to do more than shall be for her majesty's service, nor no less; in which straight way, though it be hard for so weak a man as myself to walk upright, yet the example of our raw soldiers may comfort an insufficient general; for they, till they grow perfect in all their orders and motions, are so afraid to be out, and with such a continual heedfulness, observe both themselves and those that are near them, that they do keep almost as good order at the first as ever after. I am sure I am as distrustful of myself as they, and because I have more sense of duty, I shall be more industrious For sea-service the judgment of my honourable companion shall be my compass; and for land, his assent, and the advice of those her majesty hath named as counsellors at war shall be my warranties. It will be honour to her majesty, and a great assurance to her state, if we either bring home wealth or give the king of Spain a blow by sea. But to have made a continual diversion, and to have left, as it were, a thorn sticking in his foot, had been a work worthy of such a queen and of such a preparation. For then her majesty should have heard no more of his intentions for Ireland, and attempts upon the coast of France, or his drawing of ships or galleys into these narrow seas, but should at once have delivered all Christendom from his fearful usurpation. Wherein as she had been great in fame for such a general preservation, so she had been as great in power in making all the enemies of Spain in Christendom to depend upon her. She should be head of the party; she only might be said to make the wars with Spain because she made them to purpose, and they all but as her assistants and dependents. And lastly, as the end of the wars is peace, so she might have had peace when she

would, and with what conditions she would, and have included or left out whom she would. For she only by this course should force him to wish for peace, and she had the means in her hands to make the conditions: and as easy it had been to have done this as to have performed lesser services. The objections against this will be hazard and charge. Hazard, to hold any thing of his that is so mighty a king: and charge, to send such supplies from time to time as will be needful. For hazard, it is not the hazard of the state or the whole, as are the hazards of a defensive war whensoever we are enforced to fight, but it is only a hazard of some few, and such commanders, as shall be set out for such a service. And those also that shall be so hazarded, shall be in less danger than if they were put into any frontier places of France, or of the Low Countries, for they should not be left in any part of the main or continent of Spain or Portugal, where the enemy might bring an army to attempt them; (though I doubt not but after he had once tried what it were to besiege two or three thousand English in a place well fortified, and where they had a port open, he would grow quickly weary of those attempts;) but they should be so lodged as the seat and strength of the place should warrant their safety, so that to pull her majesty's men out of it should be a harder task than to conquer any country that stands on firm land by him: and to let English quietly possess it should so much prejudice him as he were not able to endure it. And for charge, there need not so much be expended but that it might easily be borne. And the place being well chosen, and the war well conducted, in a short time there would not only arise enough to pay the charge, but the great profit to her majesty, and wealth to our country would grow from the place that should be held, for in a short time a great part of the golden Indian stream might be turned from Spain to England, and her majesty be made to

give law to all the world by sea without her charge. Besides, this fearful enemy which is now a terror to all Christendom, should be so weakened in strength, reputation, and purse, as her majesty should for ever after have an easy enemy of him. It may be your lordships' will desire to know the place that should be attempted; the means, first to take it, then to hold it; the commodity or advantage that might grow to this estate by it, but that with your lordships' leave shall be reserved till my next. This is only to beseech you for our dear sovereign's sake, for the glory and welfare of her, and her estate, that you will think upon this general proposition; and if your lordships find it reasonable, that you will move it to the queen; by whom if I be commanded to set down the hypothesis, or to descend unto particulars, I will offer my project with this condition, that if I advise any thing that the council of war shall think dangerous it may be rejected; or if myself be actor in any thing belonging to this project, wherein her majesty receives dishonour, that I may answer it with my life. And yet your lordships know I am matched with those in whom I have no particular interest; but I must attribute their assenting to me to my good hap, to take the better part. In my lord with whom I am joined I find so much honour and service as I doubt not but our unity in affection will make an unity in council, action, and government. I have troubled your lordships with a tedious letter, begun in a day of leisure, and finished in the midst of our troublesome business: I pray your lordships pardon the errors in it, and keep so honourable an opinion of me as I be not condemned by you upon any complaints, advertisements, or reports, till I have given answer to them. For as the nature of my place is subject to envy and detraction, so a little body full of sharp humours is hardest kept in temper; and all the discontented humours of an army do make their greatest quarrel to him that commands the army, not so

much for his faults as for because he bridles their's. And so commending your good lordships to God's divine protection, I rest

At your Lordships' commandment,

ROBERT ESSEX.

To my Lord of Essex, from Mr. Bacon.

My singular good Lord,

I will no longer dissever part of that, which I meant to have said to your lordship at Barnhelmes from the exordium, which I then made. Whereunto I will only add this; that I humbly desire your lordship before you give access to my poor advice, to look about, even jealously a little, if you will, and to consider: First, whether I have not reason to think that your fortune comprehendeth mine: Next, whether I shift my counsel and do not "constare mihi;" for I am persuaded there are some would give you the same counsel now, which I shall, but that they should derogate from that which they have said heretofore: Thirdly, whether you have taken hurt at any time by my careful and devoted counsel. For although I remember well your lordship once told me that you having submitted upon my well-meant motion at Nonsuch (the place where you renewed a treaty with her majesty of obsequious kindness) she had taken advantage of it; yet I suppose you do since believe, that it did much attemper a cold malignant humour then growing upon her majesty toward your lordship, and hath done you good in consequence. And for being against it, now lately, that you should not estrange yourself, although I give place to none in true gratulation, yet neither do I repent me of safe counsel; neither do I judge of the whole play by the first act. But whether I counsel you the best, or for the best, duty bindeth me to offer to you my wishes. I said to your lordship last time; "Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit." Win the queen; if this be not the beginning,

of any other course I see no end. And I will not now speak of favour of affection, but of other correspondence and agreeableness, which, whensoever it shall be conjoined with the other of affection, I durst wager my life (let them make what prosopopæus they will of her majesty's nature), that in you she will come to the question of; " quid fiet homini, quem rex vult honorare ?" But how is it now ? A man of a nature not to be ruled, that hath the advantage of my affection and knoweth it, of an estate not grounded to his greatness, of a popular reputation, of a military dependence: I demand whether there can be a more dangerous image than this represented to any monarch living, much more to a lady, and of her majesty's apprehension ? And is it not more evident than demonstration itself, that whilst this impression continueth in her majesty's breast, you can find no other condition than inventions to keep your estate bare and low; crossing and disgracing your actions, extenuating and blasting of your merit, carping with contempt at your nature and fashions; breeding, nourishing, and fortifying such instruments as are most factious against you, repulses and scorns of your friends, and dependents that are true and stedfast, winning and inveigling away from you such as are flexible and wavering, thrusting you into odious employments and offices to supplant your reputation, abusing you, and feeding you with dalliances and demonstrations, to divert you from descending into the serious consideration of your own case; yea, and percase venturing you in perilous and desperate enterprises. Herein it may please your lordship to understand me; for I mean nothing less than that these things should be plotted and intended as in her majesty's royal mind towards you; I know the excellency of her nature too well. But I say, wheresoever the formerly described impression is taken in any king's breast towards a subject, these other recited inconveniences must of necessity of politic consequence follow; in respect of such instruments

as are never failing about princes, which spy into their humours and conceits, and second them; and not only second them, but in seconding increase them; yea, and many times without their knowledge pursue them further than themselves would. Your lordship will ask the question wherewith the Athenians were wont to interrupt their orators when they exaggerated their dangers; "quid igitur agendum est?"

I will tell your lordship, "quæ mihi nunc in mentem veniunt;" supposing nevertheless that yourself out of your own wisdom upon the case with this plainness and liberty represented to you will find out better expedients and remedies. I wish a cure applied to every of the five former impressions, which I will take not in order but as I think they are of weight.

For the removing the impression of your nature to be opiniatre and not ruleable; first, and above all things I wish that all matters past, which cannot be revoked, your lordship would turn altogether upon insatisfaction, and not upon your nature or proper disposition. This string you cannot upon every apt occasion harp upon too much. Next, whereas I have noted you to fly and avoid (in some respect justly) the resemblance or imitation of my Lord of Leicester and my Lord Chancellor Hatton; yet I am persuaded (howsoever I wish your lordship as distant as you are from them in points of favour, integrity, magnanimity and merit), that it will do you much good between the queen and you to allege them (as oft as you find occasion) for authors and patterns. For I do not know a readier mean to make her majesty think you are in your right way. Thirdly, when at any time your lordship upon occasion happen in speeches to do her majesty right (for there is no such matter as flattery amongst you all) I fear you handle it, "magis in speciem adornatis verbis, quam ut sentire videaris." So that a man may read formality in your coun-

tenance; whereas your lordship should do it familiarly, "et oratione fidâ." Fourthly, your lordship should never be without some particulars afoot, which you should seem to pursue with earnestness and affection; and then let them fall upon taking knowledge of her majesty's opposition and dislike. Of which the weightiest sort may be if your lordship offer to labour in the behalf of some that you favour for some of the places now void; choosing such a subject as you think her majesty is like to oppose unto: and if you will say, that this is "Conjunctum cum alienâ injuriâ;" I will not answer, "hæc non aliter constabunt;" but I say, commendation from so good a mouth doth not hurt a man, though you prevail not. A less weighty sort of particulars may be the pretence of some journeys which at her majesty's request your lordship might relinquish; as if you would pretend a journey to see your living and estate towards Wales or the like; for as for great foreign journeys of employment and service it standeth not with your gravity to play or stratagem with them. And the lightest sort of particulars which yet are not to be neglected, are in your habits, apparel, wearings, gestures and the like.

The impression of greatest prejudice next, is that of a military dependence. Wherein, I cannot sufficiently wonder at your lordship's course, that you say, the wars are your occupation, and go in that course; whereas, if I might have advised your lordship you should have left that person at Plymouth; more than when in counsel or in commending fit persons for service for wars it had been in season. And here, my lord, I pray mistake me not. I am not to play now the part of a gown-man that would frame you best to mine own turn. I know what I owe you, I am infinitely glad of this last journey now it is past: the rather, because you may make so honourable a full point for a time. You have property good enough in that greatness. There is none can of many years ascend near you in competition.

Besides the disposing of the places, and affairs both concerning the wars (you increasing in other greatness) will of themselves flow to you; which will preserve that dependence in full measure. It is a thing that of all things I would have you retain, the times considered. And the necessity of the service, for other reason I know none. But I say, keep it in substance, but abolish it in shews to the queen. For her majesty loveth peace. Next she loveth not charge. Thirdly, that kind of dependence maketh a suspected greatness. Therefore, "Quod instat agamus." Let that be a sleeping honour awhile, and cure the queen's mind in that point. Therefore again, whereas I heard your lordship designing to yourself the Earl Marshal's place, or place of Master of the Ordnance, I did not in my mind so well like of either; because of their affinity with a martial greatness. But of the places now void in my judgment and discretion, I would name you to the place of Lord Privy Seal. For first, it is the third person of the great officers of the crown. Next, it hath a kind of superintendence over the secretary. It hath also an affinity with the Court of Wards, in regard of the fees from the liveries. And it is a fine honour, quiet place, and worth a thousand pounds by year. And my Lord Admiral's father had it, who was a martial man. And it fits a favourite to carry her majesty's image in seal, who beareth it best expressed in heart. But my chief reason is, that which I first alleged to divert her majesty from this impression of a martial greatness. In concurrence whereof, if your lordship shall not remit any thing of your former diligence at the Star Chamber; if you shall continue such intelligences as are worth the cherishing; if you shall pretend to be as bookish and contemplative as ever you were; all these courses have both their advantages and uses in themselves otherwise, and serve exceeding aptly to this purpose. Whereunto I add one expedient more stronger than all the rest; and for mine own confident

opinion, void of any prejudice or danger of diminution of your greatness; and that is, the bringing in of some martial man to be of the council, dealing directly with her majesty in it, as for her service and your better assistance; choosing nevertheless some person that may be known not to come in against you by any former division. I judge the fittest to be my Lord Mountjoy, or my Lord Willoughby. And if your lordship see deeplier into it than I do, that you would not have it done in effect, yet, in my opinion, you may serve your turn by the pretence of it, and stay it nevertheless.

The third impression is of a popular reputation; which because it is a thing good in itself, being obtained as your lordship obtaineth it, that is, "bonis artibus," and besides well governed, is one of the flowers of your greatness both present and to come; it would be handled tenderly. The only way is, to quench it verbis and not rebus; and therefore to take all occasions to the queen, to speak against popularity and popular courses vehemently, and to tax it in all others: but nevertheless to go on in your honourable commonwealth courses as you do. And therefore, I will not advise you to cure this by dealing in monopolies or any oppressions. Only if in parliament your lordship be forward for treasure in respect of the wars it becometh your person well. And if her majesty object popularity to you at any time, I would say to her, a parliament will shew that, and so feed her with expectation.

The fourth impression of the inequality between your estate of means and your greatness of respects, is not to be neglected; for believe it, my lord, that till her majesty find you careful of your estate, she will not only think you more like to continue chargeable to her, but also have a conceit that you have higher imaginations. The remedies are, first, to profess it in all speeches to her; next, in such suits wherein both honour, gift, and profit may be taken to com-

municate freely with her majesty, by way of inducing her to grant that it will be this benefit to you. Lastly, to be plain with your lordship, for the gentlemen are such as I am beholding to, nothing can make the queen or the world think so much that you are come to a provident care of your estate as the altering of some of your officers; who though they be as true to you as one hand to the other, yet "opinio veritate major." But if, in respect of the bonds, they may be entered into for your lordship, you cannot so well dismiss yourself of them, this cannot be done but with time.

For the fifth and last, which is of the advantage of a favourite, as severed from the rest it cannot hurt; so joined with them it maketh her majesty more fearful and shadowy, as not knowing her own strength. The only remedy to this is, to give way to some other favorite as in particular you shall find her majesty inclined, so as the subject hath no ill, nor dangerous aspect towards yourself; for otherwise, whosoever shall tell me that you may not have singular use of a favourite at your devotion, I will say he understandeth not the queen's affection, nor your lordship's condition. And so I rest.

October 4, 1596.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

Sir,

I forbear not to put in paper as much as I thought to have spoken to your honour to-day, if I could have stayed, knowing that if your honour should make other use of it than is due to good meaning, and then I am persuaded you will; yet to persons of judgment, and that know me otherwise, it will rather appear (as it is) a precise honesty, and this same, "suum cuique tribuere," than any hollowness to any. It is my luck still to be akin to such things as I neither like in nature, nor would willingly meet with in my course,

but yet cannot avoid, without shew of base timorousness, or else of unkind, or suspicious strangeness.

Some hiatus in the copy.

And I am of one spirit still. I ever liked the Galenists that deal with good compositions, and not the Paracelsians, that deal with these fine separations: and in music, I ever loved easy airs, that go full all the parts together; and not these strange points of accord and discord. This I write not, I assure your honour officiously, except it be according to Tully's offices, that is, honestly and morally. For though, I thank God, I account upon the proceeding in the queen's service, or not proceeding both ways, and therefore neither mean to fawn nor retire, yet I naturally desire good opinion with any person which for fortune or spirit is to be regarded, much more with a secretary of the queen's, and a cousin-german, and one with whom I have ever thought myself to have some sympathy of nature, though accidents have not suffered it to appear. Thus not doubting of your honourable interpretation and usage of that I have written, I commend you to the divine preservation. From Gray's Inn.

To my Lord of Essex.

It may please your good Lordship,

I pray God her majesty's weighing be not like the weight of a balance, "gravia deorsum, levia sursum." But I am as far from being altered in devotion towards her as I am from distrust that she will be altered in opinion towards me when she knoweth me better. For myself I have lost some opinion, some time, and some means, this is my account: but then, for opinion it is a blast that goeth and cometh; for time, it is true, it goeth and cometh not; but yet I have learned that it may be redeemed.

For means, I value that most; and the rather, because I am purposed not to follow the practice of the law: if her

majesty command me in any particular I shall be ready to do her willing service; and my reason is only because it drinketh too much time, which I have dedicated to better purposes. But even, for that point of estate and means I partly lean to Thales' opinion, "that a philosopher may be rich if he will." Thus your lordship seeth how I comfort myself; to the increase whereof I would fain please myself to believe that to be true which my Lord Treasurer writeth, which is, that it is more than a philosopher morally can digest; but without any such high conceit, I esteem it like the pulling out of an aching tooth, which I remember when I was a child, and had little philosophy, I was glad of when it was done. For your lordship, I do think myself more beholding to you than to any man; and I say I reckon myself as a common, (not popular but common,) and as much as is lawful to be enclosed as a common, so much your lordship shall be sure to have

Your Lordship's to obey your honourable commands more settled than ever.

To my Lord of Essex.

My singular good Lord,

Your lordship's so honourable minding my poor fortune the last year in the very entrance into that great action, (which is a time of less leisure,) and in so liberal an allowance of your care as to write three letters to stir me up friends in your absence; doth, after a sort, warrant me not to object to myself your present quantity of affairs, whereby to silence myself from petition of the like favour. I brake with your lordship myself at the Tower, and I take it my brother hath since renewed the same motion touching a fortune I was in thought to attempt "in genere economico." "In genere politico," certain cross winds have blown contrary. My suit to your lordship is for your several letters to be left with me dormant, to the gentlewoman, and

either of the parents; wherein I do not doubt but as the beams of your favour have often dissolved the coldness of my fortune, so in this argument your lordship will do the like with your pen. My desire is also that your lordship would vouchsafe unto me, as out of your care, a general letter to my Lord Keeper for his lordship's holding me, from you recommended, both in the course of my practice, and in the course of my employment in her majesty's service. Wherein, if your lordship shall in any antithesis or relation, affirm that his lordship shall have no less hope of me than of any other whom he may cherish, I hope your lordship shall engage yourself for no impossibility. Lastly and chiefly, I know not whether I shall attain to see your lordship before your noble journey; for ceremonies are things infinitely inferior to my love and to my zeal; this let me, with your allowance, say unto you by pen. It is true that in my well meaning advices, out of my love to your lordship, and perhaps out of the state of mine own mind, I have sometimes persuaded a course differing: "ac tibi pro tutis insignia facta placebunt:" be it so, yet remember, that the signing of your name is nothing unless it be to some good patent or charter, whereby your country may be endowed with good and benefit; which I speak both to move you to preserve your person, for further merit and service of her majesty and your country, and likewise to refer this action to the same end. And so, in most true and fervent prayers I commend your lordship, and your work in hand, to the preservation and conduct of the Divine Majesty; so much the more watchful, as these actions do more manifestly in shew, though alike in truth, depend upon his Divine Providence.

To my Lord of Canterbury.

It may please your Grace,

I have considered the objections, perused the statutes,

and framed the alterations, which I send, still keeping myself within the brevity of a letter and form of a narration, not entering into a form of argument or disputation; for, in my poor conceit, it is somewhat against the majesty of princes' actions to make too curious and striving apologies; but rather to set them forth plainly, and so as there may appear an harmony and constancy in them, so that one part upholdeth another. And so I wish your Grace all prosperity. From my poor lodging, this, etc.

Your Grace's most dutiful
pupil and servant.

To my Lord of Essex.

My singular good Lord,

The message it pleased your lordship to send me was to me delivered doubtfully. Whether your lordship said you would speak with me at the Star-Chamber or with Mr. Philip. If with me, it is needless, for gratitude imposeth upon me satisfaction; if with Mr. Philip it will be too late, because somewhat must, perchance, be done that day. This doubt not solved, maketh me write again; the rather, because I did liberally but yet privately affirm your lordship would write; which if I make not good it may be a discouragement. Your lordship's letter, though it have the subject of honour and justice, yet it shall have the secrecy of a thing done upon affection. I shall ever in a firm duty submit my occasions, though great, to your lordship's respects, though small; and this is my resolution, that when your lordship doth for me, you shall increase my obligation; when you refuse to do for me, you shall increase my merit. So leaving the matter wholly to your lordship's pleasure, I commend your lordship to the preservation of the Divine Majesty. From Gray's Inn.

Your Lordship's ever most humbly bounden

LETTERS FROM THE BACONIANA.

The Lord Bacon's Letter to the University of Cambridge.

Rescriptum Procuratoris Regis Primarii, ad Academiam Cantabrigiensem, quando in Sanctius Regis Consilium co-optatus fuit.

Gratæ mihi fuere literæ vestræ, atque gratulationem vestram ipse mihi gratulor. Rem ipsam ita mihi honori, et voluptati fore duco, si in hâc mente maneam, ut publicis utilitatibus, studio indefesso, et perpetuis curis, et puro affectu, inserviam. Inter partes autem reipublicæ, nulla animo meo carior est quàm academiæ et literæ. Idque et vita mea anteacta declarat, et scripta. Itaque quicquid mihi accesserit, id etiam vobis accessisse existimare potestis. Neque vero patrocinium meum vobis sublatum aut diminutum esse credere debetis. Nam et ea pars patroni, quæ ad consilium in causis exhibendum spectat, integra manet; atque etiam (si quid gravius acciderit) ipsum perorandi munus (licentiâ regis obtentâ) relictam est; quodque juris patrocinio deerit, id auctiore potestate compensabitur. Mihi in votis est, ut quemadmodùm à privatorum et clientelarum negotiis, ad gubernacula reipublicæ translatus jam sum; ita et postrema ætatis meæ pars (si vita suppetit) etiam à publicis curis ad otium et literas devehi possit. Quinetiam sæpius subit illa cogitatio, ut etiam in tot et tantis negotiis, tamen singulis annis aliquos dies apud vos deponam; ut ex majore vestrarum rerum notitiâ vestris utilitatibus melius consulere possim.

Amicus vester maximè fidelis et benevolus,

5 Julii 1616. FR. BACON.

The Answer of the Lord Bacon, then Attorney General, to the University of Cambridge, when he was sworn of the Privy Council to the King.

Your letters were very acceptable to me; and I give myself joy, upon your congratulation. The thing itself will (I suppose) conduce to my honour and satisfaction, if I remain in the mind I now am in; by unwearied study, and perpetual watchfulness, and pure affection, to promote the public good. Now among the parts of the commonwealth, there are none dearer to me than the universities and learning. And this, my manner of life hitherto, and my writings do both declare. If therefore any good fortune befalls me, you may look upon it as an accession to yourselves. Neither are you to believe, that my patronage is either quite removed from you, or so much as diminished. For that part of an advocate which concerneth the giving of counsel in causes remaineth entire. Also (if any thing more weighty and urgent falleth out) the very office of pleading (the king's leave being obtained) is still allowed me. And whatsoever shall be found wanting in my juridical patronage will be compensated by my more ample authority. My wishes are, that as I am translated from the business of private men and particular clients, to the government of the commonwealth; so the latter part of my age (if my life be continued to me) may, from the public cares, be translated to leisure and study.

Also this thought comes often into my mind, amidst so many businesses and of such moment, every year to lay aside some days to think on you: that so having the greater insight into your matters I may the better consult your advantage.

Your most faithful and kind friend,

July the 5th, 1616. FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon's Letter to King James touching the Chancellor's Place.

It may please your most excellent Majesty.

Your worthy chancellor* (I fear) goeth his last day; God hath hitherto used to weed out such servants as grew not fit for your majesty; but now he hath gathered to himself one of the choicer plants in your majesty's garden. But your majesty's service must not be mortal.

Upon this heavy accident, I pray your majesty in all humbleness and sincerity, to give me leave to use a few words. I must never forget when I moved your majesty for the attorney's place, that it was your own sole act, and not my Lord of Somerset's; who, when he knew your majesty had resolved it, thrust himself into the business to gain thanks. And therefore I have no reason to pray to saints.

I shall now again make oblation to your majesty; first of my heart; then of my service; thirdly, of my place of attorney; and fourthly, of my place in the star-chamber.

I hope I may be acquitted of presumption, if I think of it: both because my father had the place, which is some civil inducement to my desire, (and I pray God your majesty may have twenty no worse years than queen Elizabeth had in her model after my father's placing) and chiefly because the chancellor's place, after it went to the law, was ever conferred upon some of the learned counsel, and never upon a judge. For Audley was raised from King's Serjeant; my father from Attorney of the Wards; Bromlie from Solicitor; Puckering from Queen's Serjeant; Egerton from Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's place.

For myself, I can only present your majesty with "gloria in obsequio;" yet I dare promise, that if I sit in that place, your business shall not make such short turns upon you as it doth; but when a direction is once given, it shall be pursued and performed: and your majesty shall only be troubled

* Chancellor Egerton.

with the true care of a king; which is to think what you would have done in chief; and not how for the passages.

I do presume also, in respect of my father's memory, and that I have been always gracious in the lower-house, I have some interest in the gentlemen of England, and shall be able to do some good effect in rectifying that body of parliament, which is "Cardo Rerum." For, let me tell your majesty, that that part of the chancellor's place, which is to judge in equity between party and party, that same "Regnum Judiciale" (which since my father's time is but too much enlarged) concerneth your majesty least, more than the acquitting of your conscience for justice. But it is the other parts of a moderator amongst your council; of an overseer over your judges; of a planter of fit justices and governors in the country, that importeth your affairs, and these times, most.

I will add likewise, that I hope, by my care, the inventive part of your council will be strengthened; who, now commonly, do exercise rather their judgments than their inventions; and the Inventive Part cometh from projectors and private men; which cannot be so well: In which kind my Lord of Salisbury had a good method.

To conclude; if I were the man I would be, I should hope, that as your majesty of late hath won hearts by depressing, you should in this lose no hearts by advancing. For I see your people can better skill of Concretum than Abstractum; and that the waves of their affection flow rather after persons than things. So that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more good than twenty bills of grace.

If God call my Lord Chancellor, the warrants and commissions which are requisite for the taking of the seal, and for working with it, and for reviving of warrants under his hand, which die with him, and the like, shall be in readiness. And in this time presseth more, because it is the end

of a term, and almost the beginning of the circuits; so that the seal cannot stand still. But this may be done as heretofore, by commission, till your majesty hath resolved on an officer. God ever preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble
subject, and bounden servant,
F. BACON.

A Letter written* by the Lord Bacon to King James, for Relief of his Estate.

May it please your most excellent Majesty.

In the midst of my misery, which is rather assuaged by remembrance than by hope; my chiefest worldly comfort is, to think, that since the time I had the first vote of the Commons House of parliament for commissioner of the union, until the time that I was this last parliament, chosen by both houses for their messenger to your majesty in the petition of religion (which two were my first and last services), I was evermore so happy as to have my poor services graciously accepted by your majesty, and likewise not to have had any of them miscarry in my hands. Neither of which points I can any ways take to myself, but ascribe the former to your majesty's goodness, and the latter to your prudent directions; which I was ever careful to have and keep. For as I have often said to your majesty, I was towards you but as a bucket, and a cistern, to draw forth and conserve, yourself was the fountain. Unto this comfort of nineteen years' prosperity, there succeeded a comfort even in my greatest adversity, somewhat of the same nature; which is, that in those offences wherewith I was charged, there was not any one that had special relation to your majesty, or any your particular commandments. For as, towards Almighty God, there are offences against the first

* About a year and half after his retirement.

and second table, and yet all against God. So with the servants of kings, there are offences more immediate against the sovereign: although all offences against law are also against the king. Unto which comfort there is added this circumstance, that as my faults were not against your majesty, otherwise than as all faults are; so my fall was not your majesty's act, otherwise than as all acts of justice are yours. This I write not to insinuate with your majesty, but as a most humble appeal to your majesty's gracious remembrance, how honest and direct you have ever found me in your service; whereby I have an assured belief, that there is in your majesty's own princely thoughts, a great deal of serenity and clearness to me your majesty's now prostrate and cast-down servant.

Neither, my most gracious sovereign, do I by this mention of my services, lay claim to your princely grace and bounty, though the privilege of calamity doth bear that form of petition. I know well, had they been much more, they had been but my bounden duty. Nay, I must also confess, that they were from time to time, far above my merit, over and super-rewarded by your majesty's benefits which you heaped upon me. Your majesty was and is that master to me, that raised and advanced me nine times; thrice in dignity, and six times in office. The places indeed were the painfullest of all your services; but then they had both honour and profits: and the then profits might have maintained my now honour, if I had been wise. Neither was your majesty's immediate liberality wanting towards me in some gifts, if I may hold them. All this I do most thankfully acknowledge, and do herewith conclude, that for any thing arising from myself to move your eye of pity towards me, there is much more in my present misery, than in my past services; save that the same your majesty's goodness, that may give relief to the one, may give value to the other.

And indeed, if it may please your majesty, this theme of

my misery is so plentiful, as it need not be coupled with any thing else. I have been somebody by your majesty's singular and undeserved favour, even the prime officer of your kingdom. Your majesty's arm hath been over mine in council, when you presided at the table, so near I was: I have borne your majesty's image in metal, much more in heart: I was never in nineteen years' service chidden by your majesty, but contrariwise often overjoyed, when your majesty would sometimes say, I was a good husband for you, though none for myself: sometimes, that I had a way to deal in business "suavibus modis," which was the way which was most according to your own heart: and other most gracious speeches of affection and trust, which I feed on to this day. But why should I speak of these things which are now vanished, but only the better to express the downfall?

For now it is thus with me: I am a year and a half old in misery; though I must ever acknowledge, not without some mixture of your majesty's grace and mercy; for I do not think it possible, that any you once loved should be totally miserable. Mine own means, through mine own improvidence, are poor and weak, little better than my father left me. The poor things which I have had from your majesty, are either in question or at courtesy. My dignities remain marks of your favour, but burthens of my present fortune. The poor remnants which I had of my former fortunes in plate or jewels, I have spread upon poor men unto whom I owed, scarce leaving myself a convenient subsistence. So as to conclude, I must pour out my misery before your majesty, so far as to say, "Si deseris tu, perimus."

But as I can offer to your majesty's compassion little arising from myself to move you, except it be my extreme misery, which I have truly laid open; so looking up to your majesty's own self, I should think I committed Cain's fault if I should despair. Your majesty is a king, whose

heart is as unscrutable for secret motions of goodness, as for depth of wisdom. You are, creator-like, factive and not destructive. You are the prince, in whom hath been ever noted an aversation against any thing that savoured of a hard heart; as, on the other side your princely eye was wont to meet with any motion that was made on the relieving part. Therefore as one that hath had the happiness to know your majesty near hand, I have, most gracious sovereign, faith enough for a miracle, much more for a grace, that your majesty will not suffer your poor creature to be utterly defaced, nor blot that name quite out of your book, upon which your sacred hand hath been so oft for new ornaments and additions.

Unto this degree of compassion, I hope God above, of whose mercy towards me both in my prosperity and adversity, I have had great testimonies and pledges, though mine own manifold and wretched unthankfulnesses might have averted them) will dispose your princely heart, already prepared to all piety. And why should I not think, but that thrice noble prince who would have pulled me out of the fire of a sentence, will help to pull me (if I may use that homely phrase) out of the mire of an abject and sordid condition in my last days: And that excellent favourite of yours, the goodness of whose nature contendeth with the greatness of his fortune, and who counteth it a prize, a second prize, to be a good friend, after that prize which he carrieth to be a good servant, will kiss your hands with joy for any work of piety you shall do for me. And as all commiserable persons, especially such as find their hearts void of all malice, are apt to think that all men pity them; I assure myself that the lords of your council, who out of their wisdom and nobleness, cannot but be sensible of human events, will in this way which I go for the relief of my estate, further and advance your majesty's goodness towards me: for there is, as I conceive, a kind of fraternity between great men that are, and those that have been,

being but the several tenses of one verb. Nay, I do further presume, that both houses of parliament will love their justice the better if it end not in my ruin. For I have been often told by many of my lords, as it were in excusing the severity of the sentence, that they knew they left me in good hands. And your majesty knoweth well I have been all my life long acceptable to those assemblies, not by flattery, but by moderation, and by honest expressing of a desire to have all things go fairly and well.

But if it may please your majesty, (for saints I shall give them reverence, but no adoration; my address is to your majesty the fountain of goodness) your majesty shall by the grace of God not feel that in gift which I shall extremely feel in help. For my desires are moderate, and my courses measured to a life orderly and reserved, hoping still to do your majesty honour in my way. Only I most humbly beseech your majesty to give me leave to conclude with those words which necessity speaketh: Help me, dear sovereign lord and master, and pity me so far as I that have borne a bag be not now in my age forced in effect to bear a wallet; nor I that desire to live to study may not be driven to study to live. I most humbly crave pardon of a long letter after a long silence. God of heaven ever bless, preserve, and prosper your majesty.

Your Majesty's poor ancient
servant and beadsman,
FR. ST. ALB.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon's Letter to the Queen of Bohemia*, in Answer to one from her Majesty, and upon sending to her his Book about a War with Spain.

It may pleasey our Majesty,

I have received your majesty's gracious letter from Mr.

* A.D. 1625.

Secretary Morton, who is now a saint in heaven. It was at a time when the great desolation of the plague was in the city, and when myself was ill of a dangerous and tedious sickness. The first time that I found any degree of health, nothing came sooner to my mind than to acknowledge your majesty's great favour by my most humble thanks. And because I see your majesty taketh delight in my writings, and to say truth they are the best fruits I now yield. I presume to send your majesty a little discourse of mine, touching a war with Spain, which I writ about two years since, which the king your brother liked well. It is written without bitterness or invective, as kings' affairs ought to be carried: but, if I be not deceived, it hath edge enough. I have yet some spirits left and remnant of experience, which I consecrate to the king's service and your majesty's; for whom I pour out my daily prayers to God, that he would give your majesty a fortune worthy your rare virtues: which some good spirit tells me will be in the end. I do in all reverence kiss your majesty's hands, ever resting

Your Majesty's most humble
and devoted servant.
FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

A Letter of the Lord Bacon's to the University of Cambridge, upon his sending to their Public Library, his Book of the Advancement of Learning.

Franciscus Baro de Verulamio, Vicecomes Sancti Albani, Almæ Matri inclytæ Academiæ Cantabrigiensi, Salutem.

Debita filii, qualia possum, persolvo. Quod verò facio, idem et vos hortor; ut Augmentis Scientiarum strenuè incumbatis, et in animi modestiâ libertatem ingenii retineatis, neque talentum à veteribus concreditum in sudario reponatis. Affuerit proculdubiò et affulserit divini luminis gratia, si humiliatâ, et submissâ religioni philosophiâ, clavibus sensûs legitimè, et dextrè utamini, et amoto omni contradictionis studio, quisque cum alio, ac si ipse secum, disputet. Valete.

The same in English by the Publisher.

Francis, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St. Albans, to the Indulgent Mother, the famous University of Cambridge, Health.

I here repay you according to my ability the debts of a son. I exhort you also to do the same thing with myself: That is, to bend your whole might towards the advancement of the sciences, and to retain freedom of thought, together with humility of mind; and not to suffer the talent which the ancients have deposited with you to lie dead in a napkin. Doubtless, the favour of the divine light will be present and shine amongst you, if philosophy being submitted to religion, you lawfully and dexterously use the keys of sense; and if all study of opposition being laid aside, every one of you so dispute with another as if he were arguing with himself. Fare ye well.

A Letter of the Lord Bacon's, to the University of Cambridge, upon his sending to their public Library, his Novum Organum.

Almæ Matri Academiæ Cantabrigiensi.

Cum vester filius sim et alumnus, voluptati mihi erit, partum meum nuper editum vobis in gremium dare: aliter enim velut pro exposito eum haberem. Nec vos moveat, quòd via nova sit. Necesse est enim talia per ætatum, et seculorum circuitus evenire. Antiquis tamen suus constat honos; ingenii scilicet: nam fides verbo dei, et experientiæ tantùm debetur. Scientias autem, ad experientiam retrahere, non conceditur: at easdem ab experientiâ de integro excitare, operosum certè sed pervium. Deus vobis, et studiis vestris faveat.

Filius vester Amantissimus,
FRANC. VERULAM, Cancel.

The same in English by the Publisher.

Seeing I am your son, and your disciple, it will much please me to repose in your bosom the issue which I have lately brought forth into the world; for otherwise I should look upon it as an exposed child. Let it not trouble you that the way in which I go is new: such things will of necessity happen in the revolutions of several ages. However, the honour of the ancients is secured: that, I mean, which is due to their wit. For faith is only due to the word of God, and to experience. Now, for bringing back the sciences to experience is not a thing to be done: but to raise them anew from experience, is indeed a very difficult and laborious, but not a hopeless undertaking. God prosper you and your studies.

Your most loving son,

FRANCIS VERULAM, Chancel.

A Letter of the Lord Bacon's, written to Trinity College in Cambridge, upon his sending to them his Book of the Advancement of Learning.

Franc. Baro de Verulamio, Vice-comes Sancti Albani percelebri Collegio Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis in Cantabrigia, Salutem.

Res omnes earùmque progressus initiis suis debentur. Itaque cùm initia scientiarum, è fontibus vestris hauserim; incrementa ipsarum vobis rependenda existimavi. Spero itidem fore, ut hæc nostra apud vos, tanquam in solio nativo, felicius succrescant. Quamobrem et vos hortor, ut salvâ animi modestiâ, et ergà veteres reverentiâ, ipsi quoque scientiarum augmentis non desitis: verùm ut post volumina sacra verbi Dei et Scripturarum, secundo loco volumen illud magnum operum Dei et creaturarum, strenuè et præ omnibus libris, qui pro commentariis tantùm haberi debent, evolvatis. Valete.

The same in English by the Publisher.

Francis, Baron of Verulam, Viscount of St. Albans, to the most Famous College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in Cambridge, Health.

The progresses of things, together with themselves, are to be ascribed to their originals. Wherefore, seeing I have derived from your fountains my first beginnings in the sciences, I thought it fit to repay to you the increases of them. I hope also, it may so happen that these things of our's may the more prosperously thrive among you, being replanted in their native soil. Therefore, I likewise exhort you that ye yourselves, so far as is consistent with all due modesty and reverence to the ancients, be not wanting to the Advancement of the Sciences: but that next to the study of those sacred volumes of God, the holy Scriptures, ye turn over that great volume of the works of God, his creatures, with the utmost diligence, and before all other books, which ought to be looked on only as commentaries on those texts. Farewell.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon's Letter to Dr. Williams, then Lord Bishop of Lincoln, concerning his Speeches, etc.

My very good Lord,

I am much bound to your lordship for your honourable promise to Dr. Rawley. He chooseth rather to depend upon the same in general than to pitch upon any particular; which modesty of choice I commend.

I find that the ancients (as Cicero, Demosthenes, Plinius Secundus, and others) have preserved both their orations and their epistles. In imitation of whom I have done the like to my own, which nevertheless I will not publish while I live; but I have been bold to bequeath them to your lordship and Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy. My

speeches, perhaps, you will think fit to publish. The letters many of them touch too much upon late matters of state to be published; yet I was willing they should not be lost. I have also by my will, erected two lectures in perpetuity, in either university: one with an endowment of 200*l.* per annum a piece. They are to be for natural philosophy, and the sciences thereupon depending; which foundations I have required my executors to order by the advice and direction of your lordship, and my Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. These be my thoughts now. I rest

Your Lordship's most
affectionate to do you service.

A Letter written in Latin by the Lord Verulam, to Father Fulgentio, the Venetian, concerning his writings; and now translated into English by the Publisher.

Most reverend Father,

I must confess myself to be a letter in your debt; but the excuse which I have, is too, too just. For I was kept from doing you right by a very sore disease, from which I am not yet perfectly delivered.

I am now desirous to communicate to your fatherhood the designs I have touching those writings which I form in my head and begin; not with hope of bringing them to perfection, but out of desire to make experiment, and because I am a servant to posterity; for these things require some ages for the ripening of them.

I judged it most convenient to have them translated in the Latin tongue, and to divide them into certain tomes.

The first tome consisteth of the books of the Advancement of Learning, which, as you understand, are already finished and published; and contain the Partition of Sciences, which is the first part of my Instauration.

The Novum Organum should immediately followed,

but I interposed my moral and political writings, because they were more in readiness.

And for them they are these following. The first is, The History of Henry the 7th, King of England. Then follows that book which you have called in your tongue, "Saggi Morali." But I give a graver name to that book; and it is to go under the title of Sermones Fideles, [faithful sayings], or Interiora Rerum, [the inside of things]. Those Essays will be increased in their number, and enlarged in the handling of them.

Also that tome will contain the book of the Wisdom of the Ancients. And this tome (as I said) doth, as it were interlope, and doth not stand in the order of the Instauration.

After these shall follow the Organum Novum, to which a second part is yet to be added which I have already comprised and measured in the idea of it. And thus the second part of my Instauration will be finished.

As for the third part of the Instauration, that is to say the Natural History, it is plainly a work for a king or a pope, or for some college or order; and cannot be by personal industry performed as it ought.

Those portions of it, which have already seen the light, to wit, concerning winds, and touching life and death, they are not pure history, by reason of the axioms and larger observations which are interposed. But they are a kind of mixed writings composed of natural history, and a rude and imperfect instrument, or help, of the understanding.

And this is the fourth part of the Instauration. Wherefore that fourth part shall follow, and shall contain many examples of that instrument, more exact, and much more fitted to rules of induction.

Fifthly, there shall follow a book to be entitled by us, Prodromus Philosophiæ Secundæ, [the fore-runner of Secondary Philosophy]. This shall contain our inventions

about new axioms to be raised from the experiments themselves, that they which were before as pillars lying uselessly along may be raised up. And this we resolve on for the fifth part of our Instauration.

Lastly, there is yet behind the Secondary Philosophy itself, which is the sixth part of the Instauration. Of the perfecting this I have cast away all hopes; but in future ages perhaps the design may bud again. Notwithstanding in our Prodromie, [or prefatory works], such I mean only, which touch almost the universals of nature there will be laid no inconsiderable foundations of this matter.

Our meanness, you see, attempteth great things; placing our hopes only in this, that they seem to proceed from the providence and immense goodness of God.

And I am by two arguments thus persuaded.

First, I think thus, from that zeal and constancy of my mind, which has not waxed old in this design, nor after so many years grown cold and indifferent. I remember that about forty years ago I composed a juvenile work about these things, which with great confidence and a pompous title, I called Temporis Partum Maximum* [or the most considerable birth of time].

Secondly, I am thus pursuaded because of its infinite usefulness; for which reason it may be ascribed to divine encouragement.

I pray your fatherhood to commend me to that most excellent man, Signior Molines, to whose most delightful and prudent letters I will return answer shortly, if God permit. Farewell, most reverend father.

Your most assured friend,

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

* Or, it may be Masculum, as I find it read elsewhere.

A Letter of the Lord Bacon's, in French, to the Marquess Fiat, relating to his Essays.

Monsieur l' Ambassadeur mon fil,

Voyant que vostre excellence faict et traite mariages, non seulement entre les princes d'Angleterre et de France, mais aussi entres les langues (puis que faictes traduire mon livre de l'Advancement des Sciences en François) j' ai bien voulu vous envoyer mon livre dernierement imprimé, que j' avois pourveu pour vous, mais j' estois en doubte, de le vous envoyer, pour ce qu' il estoit escrit en Anglois. Mais a c'est heure pour la raison susdicte je le vous envoye. C'est un recompilement de mes Essayes Morales et Civiles; mais tellement enlargiés et enrichiés, tant de nombre que de poix, que c' est de fait un œuvre nouveau. Je vous baise les mains, et reste,

Vostre tres affectionée ami,
et tres humble serviteur.

The same in English by the Publisher.

My Lord Embassador, my son,

Seeing that your excellency makes and treats of marriages, not only betwixt the princes of France and England, but also betwixt their languages (for you have caused my book of the Advancement of Learning to be translated into French) I was much inclined to make you a present of the last book which I published, and which I had in readiness for you.

I was sometimes in doubt whether I ought to have sent it to you, because it was written in the English tongue. But now, for that very reason I send it to you. It is a recompilement of my Essays, Moral and Civil; but in such manner enlarged and enriched both in number and weight,

that it is in effect a new work. I kiss your hands, and remain

Your most affectionate and
most humble servant, etc.

A Letter from the University of Oxford to the Lord Bacon, upon his sending to them his book De Augmentis Scientiarum.

Prænobilis, et (quod in Nobilitate pœnè miraculum est) Scientissime Vicecomes!

Nihil concinnius tribuere, amplitudo vestra, nihil gratius accipere potuit Academia, quàm scientias. Scientias, quas prius inopes, exiguas, incultas emiserat, accepit tandem nitidas, proceras ingenii tui copiis, quibus unicè augeri potuerant, uberrimè dotatas. Grande ducit munus illud sibi à peregrino, si tamen peregrinus sit, tam propè consanguineus, auctius redire, quod filiolis suis instar patrimonii impendit; et libentèr agnoscit hic nasci musas, alibi tamen quam domi suæ crescere. Creverunt quidem, et sub calamo tuo, qui tanquam strenuus literarum Alcides, columnas tuas, mundo immobiles, propriâ manu in orbe scientiarum, plus ultrà statuisti. Euge exercitatissimum athletam, qui in aliorum patrocinandis virtutibus occupatissimus, alios; in scriptis propriis, teipsum superâsti. Quippe in illo honorum tuorum fastigio, viros tantùm literatos promovisti, nunc tandem (ô dulce prodigium!) etiam et literas. Onerat clientes beneficii hujus augustior munificentia; cujus in accipiendo honor apud nos manet, in fruendo emolumentum transit usque in posteros. Quin ergo si gratiarum talioni impares sumus, juncto robore alterius sæculi nepotes succurrant, qui reliquum illud, quod tibi non possunt, saltem nomini tuo persolvent. Felices illi, nos tamen quàm longè feliciores, quibus honorificè conscriptam tuâ manu epistolam, quibus oculatissima lectitandi præcepta, et studiorum concordiam,

in fronte voluminis demandâsti. Quasi parum esset musas de tuâ penu locupletare, nisi ostenderes quo modo et ipsæ discerent. Solenniori itaque osculo acerrimum judicii tui depositum excepit frequentissimus purpuratorum senatus; exceperunt pariter minoris ordinis gentes; et quod omnes in publico librorum thesaurario, in memoriâ singuli deposuerunt.

Dominationis vestræ studiosissima
Academia Oxoniensis.

E Domo nostrâ congregationis,
20th Decem. 1623.

The Superscription was thus:

To the Right Honourable Francis, Baron
of Verulam, and Viscount of St. Alban,
our very good Lord.

The same in English by the Publisher.

Most Noble, and (——) most learned Viscount.

Your honour could have given nothing more agreeable, and the University could have received nothing more acceptable than the sciences. And those sciences which she formerly sent forth poor, of low stature, unpolished, she hath received elegant, tall, and by the supplies of your wit, by which alone they could have been advanced, most rich in dowry. She esteemeth it an extraordinary favour to have a return with usury, made of that by a stranger, if so near a relation may be called a stranger, which she bestows as a patrimony upon her children. And she readily acknowlegeth, that though the muses are born in Oxford they grow elsewhere. Grown they are, and under your pen, who, like some mighty Hercules, in learning have by your own hand further advanced those pillars in the learned world, which by the rest of that world were supposed immovable.

We congratulate you, you most accomplished combatant,

who, by your most diligent patronage of the virtues of others, have overcome other patrons; and, by your own writings, yourself. For, by the eminent height of your honour, you advanced only learned men, now at last, O ravishing prodigy! you have also advanced learning itself.

The ample munificence of this gift lays a burthen upon your clients, in the receiving of which we have the honour; but in the enjoying of it, the emolument will descend to late posterity. If, therefore, we are not able of ourselves, to return sufficient and suitable thanks, our nephews of the next age ought to give their assistance, and pay the remainder, if not to yourself, to the honour of your name. Happy they, but we how much more happy, &c. To whom you have pleased to do the honour of sending a letter, written by no other than by your own hand. To whom you have pleased to send the clearest instructions for reading [your works], and for concord in our studies, in the front of your book; as if it were a small thing for your lordship to enrich the muses out of your own stock, unless you taught them also a method of getting wealth. Wherefore this most accurate pledge of your understanding has been, with the most solemn reverence, received in a very full congregation, both by the doctors and masters; and that which the common vote hath placed in our public library, every single person has gratefully deposited in his memory.

Your lordship's most devoted servant,

The University of Oxford.

From our Convocation-House,
December 20, 1623.

A Letter written by Dr. Roger Maynwaring to Dr. Rawley, concerning the Lord Bacon's Confession of Faith.

Sir,

I have, at your command, surveyed this deep and devout

tract of your deceased lord, and send back a few notes upon it.

In the first page, line 7,* are these words:

"I believe that God is so holy, pure, and jealous, that it is impossible for him to be pleased in any creature, though the work of his own hands; so that neither angel, man, nor world, could stand, or can stand, one moment in his eyes, without beholding the same in the face of a Mediator; and therefore, that before Him, with whom all things are present, the Lamb of God was slain before all worlds; without which eternal counsel of his, it was impossible for Him to to have descended to any work of creation; but he should have enjoyed the blessed and individual society of Three Persons in Godhead, only, for ever."

This point I have heard some divines question, whether God, without Christ, did pour his love upon the creature? and I had sometime a dispute with Dr. Sharp,† of your university, who held, that the emanation of the Father's love to the creature, was immediate. His reason, amongst others, was taken from that text, "So God loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son." Something of that point I have written amongst my papers, which on the sudden I cannot light upon. But I remember that I held the point in the negative; and that St. Austin, in his comment on the fifth chapter to the Romans, gathered by Beda, is strong that way.

In page 2, line the 9th to the 13th,‡ are these words:

—— "God, by the reconcilement of the Mediator,

* That is, in Resuscitatio, p. 117, l. 8, to for ever in page 118.

† The same, I think, who was committed to the Tower, having taught Hoskins his Allusion to the Sicilian Vespers. See Reliqu. Wootton, p. 434.

‡ That is in Resuscitatio, p. 118, l. 9, to refer.

turning his countenance towards his creatures, (though not in equal light and degree) made way unto the dispensation of his most holy and secret will; whereby some of his creatures might stand and keep their state; others might, possibly, fall and be restored; and others might fall, and not be restored in their estate, but yet remain in being, though under wrath and corruption, all with respect to the Mediator; which is the great mystery, and perfect centre of all God's ways with his creatures, and unto which all his other works and wonders do but serve and refer."

Here absolute reprobation seems to be defended, in that the will of God is made the reason of the non-restitution of some; at leastwise his lordship seems to say, that 'twas God's will that some should fall; unless that may be meant of voluntas permissiva [his will of permission].

In page the second, at the end,* where he saith "Amongst the generations of men, he elected a small flock," if that were added, "of fallen men," it would not be amiss; lest any should conceive that his lordship had meant, the decree had passed on massa incorrupta, [on mankind considered before the fall.]

In page the 4th, lines the 13th and 14th,† are these words:

"Man made a total defection from God, presuming to imagine, that the commandments and prohibitions of God were not the rules of good and evil, but that good and evil had their own principles and beginnings."

Consider whether this be a rule universal, that the commands and prohibitions of God are the rules of good and evil: for, as St. Austin saith, many things are prohibita quia mala, [for that reason forbidden because they are evil,] as those sins which the schools call specifical.

* That is, in Resuscitatio, p. 118, l. 24, &c.

† That is, ibid. p. 119, l. 36, &c.

In page 7, lines the 23rd and 24th,* are these words:

"The three heavenly unities exceed all natural unities, that is to say, the unity of the Three Persons in Godhead; the unity of God and man in Christ, and the unity of Christ and the church, the Holy Ghost being the worker of both these latter unities; for, by the Holy Ghost was Christ incarnate, and quickened in flesh; and by the Holy Ghost is man regenerate, and quickened in spirit."

Here two of the unities are ascribed to the Holy Ghost. The first seems excluded; yet divines say, that "Spiritus Sanctus est amor, et vinculum Patris et Filii" [the Holy Ghost is the love and the bond of the Father and the Son].

In page 8, line the 13th,† are these words:

"Christ accomplished the whole work of the Redemption and restitution of man, to a state superior to the angels."

This [superior] seems to hit upon that place, ισάγγελοι,‡ which argues but equality. Suarez (De Angelis, lib. 1, cap. 1.) saith, that angels are superior to men, "Quod gradum intellectualem, et quoad immediatam habitationem ad Deum," [both in respect of the degree of their intellectual nature, and of the nearness of their habitation to God]. Yet St. Austin affirmeth, "Naturam humanam in Christo perfectiorem esse angelicâ" [that the human nature in Christ is more perfect than the angelical]. Consider of this. And thus far, not as a critic or corrector, but as a learner; for,

"Corrigere, res est tantò magis ardua, quantò
Magnus, Aristarcho, major Homerus erat."

In haste,

Your servant,

ROGER MAYNWARING.

* That is, in Resuscitatio, p. 120, l. 40, 41, &c.

† That is, in Resuscitatio, p. 121, lines 8 and 9.

‡ Luke xx. 36.

A Letter written by Dr. Rawley, to Monsieur Deodate, concerning his publishing of the Lord Bacon's Works.

Generosissime et amicissime domine,

Ruri nunc demùm ago, vere et jejunio ineunte: mæstus, defuisse mihi facultatem teipsum invisendi, ante discessum: at certus, nunquam defuturum me occasioni cuicunque, teipsum demerendi, et omni officio, sive amoris sive observantiæ, prosequendi. Curabo, prout vires suppetent, impressionem librorum illustrissimi herois, cui olim inservisse, atque etiamnum inservire, præcipuum mihi duco. Ne qua suspicio fidei meæ suboriatur; quàm primùm commodum erit, præstabo. Cupio, amicitiam, et notitiam hanc inter nos initam, perpetuam fore: ac literis, ejusdem tesseris et fotricibus (si velis) subinde reflorescere, te vel Parisiis, agente; quas, si unquam mihi felicitas tanta contingere possit, tui gratiâ etiam invisere sperabo. Neu credas me verbis tantùm opulentum, factis inopem; quin potiûs negotia molestissima obfuisse, dum in urbe præsens fueram. Reliquum erit, ut te unicè colat, et redamet, et tibi semper optima precetur.

Generosissime, Dominationi tuæ

servus addictimus et amicus perpetuus,

GUIL. RAWLEY.

Martii 9, 1632.

The same in English, by the Publisher.

Most noble and dear Sir,

I am now at last in the country, the Spring and Lent coming on. I am sorry that I had not the opportunity of waiting on you before I left the town; but I am sure I shall never be wanting in serving you upon all occasions, and in performing towards you all offices either of friendship or observance.

I will, to the utmost of my power, take care to publish the [remaining] labours of that illustrious hero, the Lord Verulam, esteeming it my greatest happiness to have formerly served him, and still to do so. And that I may avoid all suspicion of being worse than my word, I will perform my promise with all convenient speed. I desire that this friendship and mutual inwardness begun betwixt us may always continue, and, if you please, live and flourish by letters, the badges and nourishers of it, even when you are at Paris; a place, which, if ever I be so happy, I will see for your sake, as well as for other reasons. Pray think not that I am free of my words and frugal of my deeds, but rather that my thick and very troublesome occasions, whilst I was in the city, would not suffer me to kiss your hands. It remains that I heartily honour you, and retaliate your love, and wish you all the good in the world, as being

Sir,

Your most faithful servant,

and constant Friend,

March the 9th, 1632, WILLIAM RAWLEY.

A Letter written by Monsieur Ælius Deodate, to Dr. Rawley, in answer to his of March the 9th, 1632, touching his publishing the Lord Bacon's works.

Reverendo Viro Domino Gulielmo Rawley, sacræ Theologiæ Doctori, et Regiæ Majestatis Capellano, amico colendissimo.

Reverende Vir, et Amicissime Domine,

Paucis abhinc diebus redditæ sunt mihi gratissimæ et exoptatissimæ tuæ literæ, quibus pro solatiô suavissimæ tuæ consuetudinis, per improvisum tuum ex urbe discessum mihi ereptæ, novam arctæ, et in perpetuum duraturæ ami-

citiæ tuæ fiduciam mihi spondes. Hoc munere (quod quidem omni mutui amoris et observantiæ officio pro viribus demereri sedulò satagam) vix quicquam potuit mihi obtingere charius; adeò tua virtus, et illustrissimi herois nostri (cujus afflatus divinos in sinu foves) æternùm colenda memoria, mihi in precio est. Promptam ejus operum editionem, quam polliceris, tam avidè expecto, ut spe eam jam totam penè continuerim: ne patere, quæso, quovis casu, ullam huic desiderio meo, moram injici: cùm etiam (quod et agnoscis) multis nominibus, maximè tua intersit, eam quantò citius promoveri. Parum fœliciter mihi cessit votum, pro versione Libri Experimentorum, ut percipies ex ejus specimine, quod ad te mitto: ea propter illum, qui id laboris fuerat aggressus, rogavi, ut ab eo desisteret, cujus id solùm quod videbis paucis foliis exaratum, hactenus præstitit, cùm antè duos annos, perficiendum suscepisset. De tempore mei in Galliam reditûs, nondum statui: ejus te, ante discessum, faciam certiorem, et tibi futuræ nostræ, per literas, communicationis internuncios indicabo. Vale.

Reverentiæ tuæ

observantissimus servus,

ÆLIUS DEODATUS.

Londini, Aprilis 4, 1633.

The same in English by the Publisher.

To the Reverend his most Honoured Friend, William Rawley, Doctor of Divinity, and Chaplain to the King's Majesty.

Reverend and most dear Sir,

A few days ago, I received your most acceptable and most desired letter, in which, to comfort me for the loss of your most agreeable company (of which I was deprived by your sudden leaving the town) you make me a new promise of a near and lasting friendship. Nothing could have

happened to me more pleasing than this kindness, (which I shall diligently endeavour, to the utmost of my power, by all ways of love and observance, to deserve); so much I value your own worth and the ever estimable memory of our most illustrious hero, a portion of whose spirit resides in your breast.

I so greedily expect the speedy edition of his works, which you have promised, that I have already almost devoured the whole of it in my hopes. Suffer not, I beseech you, any delay by any means to obstruct this my earnest desire: seeing, especially, it much concerns yourself, as you confess, upon many accounts, to promote it with all expedition.

My design of a translation of the Natural History has not succeeded so happily as I could wish, as you will perceive by the specimen which I send to you. Wherefore I desired him who had undertaken the work to desist from it, he having done only that little which you will see in a few leaves; whereas he undertook the doing of the whole two years ago. I am not yet resolved about the time of my returning into France. I will let you know it ere I go, and tell you by whom our letters may be conveyed to one another. Farewell.

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble servant,

ÆLIUS DEODATE, Advocate.

London, April 4, 1633.

The First Letter of Mr. Isaac Gruter, to Dr. Rawley, concerning the MSS. of the Lord Bacon.

Reverendo Doctissimoque viro Gulielmo Rawleio, S. P. D. Isaacus Gruterus.

Vir Reverende,

Fratris mei cruda mors, cui Latinam Naturalis Historiæ

Verulamianæ versionem debemus, perdiu me subsistere coegit in natali nobis Zelandia, dum mortualis familiæ negotia expedio. Domum reversus ad Batavos invenio literas tuas sane quàm gratissimas; sed quod dolebam, serô responso ob sonticam ab Haganis absentiæ causam, excipiendas. Veniam meretur qui peccat invitus, tarditatisque à fortuna impositam necessitatem pensare conabitur affectûs studiô, nunquam post hac indormituro amicitiæ obsequiis et offerenti se occasioni. Viri istius institutum, qui Baconi Historiam Naturalem, ut eam priores meæ designarunt, Gallicè dedit, paucis verbis comprehensum exhibent fratris mei prolegomena; quæ velim videas, et judicium de iis censoriamque; ubi laborat fides, notam transmittas proximis literis. Editio ille Germani mei, quam cum voluptate summa inspexisse te scribis, mox emendatior prodibit ex secundis defuncti curis, cum auctuario ejusdem argumenti, expungendæ Atlantidi substituendo. Quod non aliud futurum ab ista hominis Galli interpretatione, Latiô donandâ, cum Anglice reperiri non queat unde sua vertit; nisi tu hæc ut spuria et adulterina damnaveris, ubi videre contigerit librum. Observationes tuas in male intellecta perperamque versa ex Anglico Historia Naturalis quod à te evulgatus legitur (qualia in primis conatibus interpretis non indigenæ, et indies tunc cum adolesceret ætate proficientis haud pauca occurrere nemo mirabitur, qui noverit Physiologicam argumenti latè patentis varietatem, perplexi ex tot rerum congerie, sua non ubique vocabula apud Antiquos habentium, " et præsenti nota signandas*" appellationes requirentium) velim mihi non invideas, conferendas cum τοῦ μακαρίτου emendationibus solicitè elaboratis; an et féliciter tum cum paucis istarum elegantiarum intelligentibus dispicies. Mitto indicem eorum, quæ ex Boswelliani Musei scriniis chartaceis penes me extant vel propria manu descripta, vel alterius apud vos, sed Baconi manum et limam experta; ut Boswellus olim mihi, admisso ad interiores familiaritatis aditus, commemoravit in

* Horat.

apographis meis (ut testabitur index hisce literis comes) reperies historiam Densi et Rari, sed imperfectam, opusculo licet longius cule producto. De Gravi et Levi, in manibus habui integrum et grande volumen, sed quod præter nudam delineatæ fabricæ compagem extitulis, materiam, prout eam conceperat illustris Baconus absolventibus, nihil descriptionis continebat. Includitur hisce exemplar contextûs, sola capitum lemmata complexi, et plenam ex ista σκιαγραφία tractationem nunc frustra requirentis. De Denso et Raro quæ asservas ab extrema. Auctoris incude, quæque in appendicem venient fragmenta, utinam cum ineditis physiologicis Verulamei, in apographa per me redactis ex legato Boswelliano, subjicere liceat prelo Batavo, sibi invicem commendationem, si junctius prodeant, præstitura. Agere jam cæpi cum typographo magnæ in istis industriæ et curiositatis; faxo nihil justè queri possis de fide nostra et candore, si editionem illam mihi permiseris, consummandam non sine honorifica tui mentione. Sed utcunque constitues, nihil detractum volo amicitiæ officiis, ulterius ab hoc ingressu quacunque occasione provehendæ Ludovicus Elsevirius Amstelodamo nuper ad me scripsit meditari se, fore brevi inchoandam, in quarto editionem eorum omnium, quæ Bacono circumferuntur auctore, vel Latinè vel Anglicè, sed hæc in Romanum Sermonem vertenda, petiitque à me eatenus consilium, et si quid è manuscriptis et interpretatione conferre possem adminiculi, quo auctiora et quantum pote, ornatiora prodeant opera, diu faventissimis eruditi mundi præconiis et applausu confestatissimo excepta. Tu si quid in mente aut manu habes unde affulgeat adjumenti spes in molitione tam celebri, et plurimum conciliatura existimationis istam editionem procurantibus, fac intelligam, et habe me porro inter devotissimos Baconiani nominis et virtutum tuarum cultores. Vale. Exspecto quæ tibi cognita de Verulamii majoribus, Nicolao Patre imprimis, de adolescentia nostri; studiis apud Cantabrigienses, peregrinationibus, honoribus, cancellariatu et

exauctoratione, parliamentariæ auctoritatis decreto. Ista floridè et liberaliori in laudes meritissimas stylo, hoc ultimum cauto pertractando, suscipiam, ne hominibus calumniari aut probra serere natis præbeatur noxiæ garrulitatis è mea commentatione de viri longè doctissimi vita et morte, materes.

Hagæ Comitis, Maii 29, 1652.

The same in English, by the Publisher.

To the Reverend and most Learned William Rawley, Isaac Gruter wisheth much health.

Reverend Sir,

By reason of the immature death of my brother, to whom we owe the Latin translation of the Lord Bacon's Natural History, I have been forced to stay a long while in our native country of Zealand, in order to the settling of the domestic affairs of the person deceased. Returning home to Holland, I found your letter, which, I assure you, was most acceptable to me; yet at this I was concerned, that my necessary absence from the Hague had occasioned so late an answer to it. He deserves pardon who offends against his will: and who will endeavour to make amends for this involuntary delay, by the study of such kindness as shall be vigilant in offices of friendship, as often as occasion shall be offered.

The design of him, who translated into French the Natural History of the Lord Bacon, of which I gave account in my former letters is briefly exhibited in my brother's Preface, which I desire you to peruse; as also, in your next letter, to send me your judgment concerning such errors as may have been committed by him.

That edition of my brother's, of which you write that you read it with a great deal of pleasure, shall shortly be set

forth with his amendments, together with some additions of the like argument to be substituted in the place of the New Atlantis, which shall be there omitted. These additions will be the same with those in the version of the forementioned Frenchman, put into Latin; seeing we could not find the English originals from which he translates them, unless you, when you see the book, shall condemn those additions as adulterate.

For your observations on those places, either not rightly understood, or not accurately turned out of the English by you published, (which, from one not a native, in his first essay, and growing in knowledge together with his years, if they be many, no man needs wonder at it, who understands the physiological variety of an argument of such extent, and rendered difficult by such an heap of things of which it consists, and for the expressing of which there is not a supply of words from the ancients, but some of a new stamp, and such as may serve for present use, are required), I entreat you not to deny me the sight of them, that so I may compare them with the corrections which my brother (now with God) did make with a very great deal of pains. But whether the truth of them answers his diligence will be best understood by yourself, and those few others by whom such elegancies can be rightly judged of.

I send you here a catalogue of these writings* which I had in MS. out of the study of Sir William Boswel, and which I now have by me, either written by the Lord Bacon himself, or by some English amanuensis, but by him revised; as the same Sir William Boswel (who was pleased to admit me to a most intimate familiarity with him) did himself tell me. Among my copies (as the catalogue which comes with this letter shows) you will find the History of

* These were the papers which I. Gruter afterwards published, under the title of Scripta Philosophica.

Rare and Dense Bodies, but imperfect, though carried on to some length.

I had once in my hands an entire and thick volume concerning heavy and light bodies, but consisting only of a naked delineation of the model, which the Lord Bacon had framed in his head, in titles of matters, without any description of the matters themselves. There is here enclosed a copy of that contexture* containing only the heads of the chapters, and wanting a full handling from that rude draught, which supplement I despair of.

For the book of dense and rare bodies which you have by you, perfected by the author's last hand, as likewise the Fragments, which are an appendix to it, I could wish that they might be here published in Holland, together with those hitherto unpublished philosophical papers copied by me, out of MSS. of Sir William Boswel; seeing if they come out together, they will set off and commend one another.

I have begun to deal with a printer, who is a man of great diligence and curiosity. I will so order the matter, that you shall have no reason to complain of my fidelity and candour, if you leave that edition to me. Care shall be taken by me, that it be not done without honourable mention of yourself; but be it what it will, you shall resolve upon; it shall abate nothing of the offices of our friendship, which, from this beginning of it, shall still further be promoted upon all occasions.

Lewis Elzevir wrote me word lately, from Amsterdam, that he was designed to begin shortly an edition in quarto of all the works of the Lord Bacon, in Latin or English; but not of the English without the translation of them into

* This letter came to my hands without that copy. See, in lieu of it, Topica de Gravi et Levi, in lib. v. cap. 3, De Augm. Scien.

Latin: and he desired my advice, and any assistance I could give him by manuscripts or translations, to the end that, as far as possible, those works might come abroad with advantage, which have been long received with the kindest eulogies, and with the most attested applause of the learned world. If you have anything in your mind, or your hands, whence we may hope for assistance in so famous a design, and conducing so much to the honour of those who are instrumental in it, pray let me know it, and reckon me henceforth amongst the devout honourers of the name of the Lord Bacon, and of your own virtues.

Farewell.

I expect from you what you know about the ancestors of the Lord Bacon, especially concerning his father, Nicholas Bacon, concerning his youth, his studies in Cambridge, his travels, his honours, his office of Chancellor, and his deposal from it by sentence of parliament. The former I will undertake in a more florid and free style, expatiating in his just praises; the latter, with a wary pen, lest out of my commentary of the Life of this most learned man, matter be offered of pernicious prating, to slanderers and men of dishonest tempers.

From the Hague,
May 29, 1652.

The second Letter of Mr. Isaac Gruter, to Dr. Rawley, concerning the writings of the Lord Bacon.

V. R. Gulielmo Rawleio, S. S. Theologiæ Doctori S. P. D. Isaacus Gruterus.

Vir Reverende,

De responsi tui tarditate queri non licet, cùm et difficultas trajectûs facile moram injiciat ex anno in hiemem

declivi dum tuas dares, atque abunde in iis inveniat quo se pascat desiderium; tantò uberiori accessione, quantò cunctantius ad manus nostras fortassis pervenisse dici potest. Et quamvis pauxillum erat quod præter gratias pro indiculo reponerem, ejus tamen id momenti visum est, ut supprimere diutius noluerim; præsertim cùm nefas mihi haberetur Smithum responso carere, virum amicissimum, et cujus in Res nostras studio quicquid in me est curæ debetur affectùsque, nihil imminuti parte, in quam sane non levem, Rawleius venit, ut in Trigam, coäluisse dici queat optimè consentientes animos. Illustrissimi Herois Verulamii quàm sancta apud me sit existimatio, etsi perquam sollicitè ostendisse me putabam, faciam tamen ut in posterum religiosius me operam dedisse quo hoc literato orbi innotesceret negari haud possit. Neque enim procedet ista contrahendi omnia Baconiana in unum volumen molitio, nisi te consulto, et ad symbolas tam insigni editione dignas invitato; ut lectoris jam pridem ex prævio eorum quæ circumferuntur gustu, cupidi concilietur gratia ex illibatâ auctarii non pœnitendi novitate. Gallo interpreti, et qui sua nescio unde consarcinavit centonesque consuit, locus non dabitur in magno Syngrammate. Ut autem separatim cum Historia Naturali excudatur exoticum opus per excerpta hinc inde corroggatum, et latinitate meâ donatum, spero à te impetrari patieris. Interesse enim puto cum Verulamiana genuina Gallici Sermonis induta cultu passim prostent, ut sciat transmarinus lector è quibus filis contexta sit istius libri tela, et quàm verum sit quod anonymus iste in præfatione ad Lectorem de te innominato scribit. Verba ejus frater meus B. M. Latinè versit in primâ editione Historiæ Naturalis, cùm de fide auctoris ignoti dubitaret. Ego in secundâ dabo, repetita et justis confossa notis, ut moneantu in quorum manus perventurum sit istud opus, supposititium esse, aut potius ex avulsis sparsim laciniis consutum, quicquid specioso Verulamii titulo munitum venditat auctor.

Nisi forte speciatim tuo nomine suggerere libet, isti loco inserenda in cautelam, et ne quid gloriæ celeberrimi viri detrahat vel malignitas, vel inconsideratum studium. Si me fata meis paterentur ducere vitam auspiciis, in Angliam evolarem, ut quicquid Verulamianæ officinæ servas in scriniis tuis ineditum, coram inspicerem, et oculos saltem haberem arbitros, si possessio negetur mercis nondum publicæ. Nunc vota impatientis desiderii sustentabo spe aliquando videndi, quæ fidiis mandata latebris occasionem exspectant ut tutò in lucem educantur, non enecentur suffocato partu. Utinam interim videre liceat apographum epistolæ ad Henricum Savilium circa adjumenta facultatum intellectualium; cætera enim Latinæ monetæ persuadeor statione sua moveri non posse in temporarium usum. Vale.

Trajecti ad Mosam,
Martii 20, S. N. CIↃ IↃC LV.

The same in English, by the Publisher.

To the Reverend William Rawley, D. D. Isaac Gruter wisheth much health.

Reverend Sir,

It is not just to complain of the slowness of your answer, seeing that the difficulty of the passage, in the season in which you wrote, which was towards winter, might easily cause it to come no faster; seeing likewise there is so much to be found in it which may gratify desire, and perhaps so much the more the longer it was ere it came to my hands. And although I had little to send back, besides my thanks for the little index,* yet that seemed to me of such moment that I would no longer suppress them: especially because I acounted it a crime to have suffered Mr. Smith† to have

* A note of some papers of the Lord Bacon's in D. R.'s hands.

† Of Christ's College, in Cambridge, and keeper of the public library there.

been without an answer: Mr. Smith, my most kind friend, and to whose care, in my matters, I owe all regard and affection, yet without diminution of that part (and that no small one neither) in which Dr. Rawley hath place: so that the souls of us three so throughly agreeing, may be aptly said to have united in a *triga*.

Though I thought that I had already sufficiently shewed what veneration I had for the illustrious Lord Verulam, yet I shall take such care for the future, that it may not possibly be denied, that I endeavoured most zealously to make this thing known to the learned world.

But neither shall this design, of setting forth in one volume all the Lord Bacon's works, proceed without consulting you, and without inviting you to cast in your symbol, worthy such an excellent edition: that so the appetite of the reader, provoked already by his published works, may be further gratified by the pure novelty of so considerable an appendage.

For the French interpreter, who patched together his things I know not whence*, and tacked that motley piece to him; they shall not have place in this great collection. But yet I hope to obtain your leave to publish apart, as an appendix to the Natural History, that exotic work, gathered together from this and the other place [of his lordship's writings] and by me translated into Latin. For seeing the genuine pieces of the Lord Bacon are already extant, and in many hands, it is necessary that the foreign reader be given to understand of what threads the texture of that book consists, and how much of truth there is in that which that shameless person does, in his preface to the reader, so stupidly write of you.

My brother, of blessed memory, turned his words into

* Certain spurious papers added to his translation of the Advancement of Learning.

Latin, in the first edition of the Natural History, having some suspicion of the fidelity of an unknown author. I will, in the second edition, repeat them, and with just severity animadvert upon them: that they, into whose hands that work comes, may know it to be supposititious, or rather patched up of many distinct pieces; how much soever the author bears himself upon the specious title of Verulam.

Unless, perhaps, I should particularly suggest in your name, that these words were there inserted, by way of caution; and lest malignity and rashness should any way blemish the fame of so eminent a person.

Si me, fata, meis, paterentur ducere vitam auspiciis— (to use the words of Virgil). If my fate would permit me to live according to my wishes, I would fly over into England, that I might behold whatsoever remaineth in your cabinet of the Verulamian workmanship, and at least make my eyes witnesses of it, if the possession of the merchandise be yet denied to the public.

At present I will support the wishes of my impatient desire, with hope of seeing, one day, those [issues] which being committed to faithful privacy, wait the time till they may safely see the light, and not be stifled in their birth.

I wish, in the mean time, I could have a sight of the copy of the Epistle to Sir Henry Savil, concerning the Helps of the Intellectual Powers: for I am persuaded, as to the other Latin remains, that I shall not obtain, for present use, the removal of them from the place in which they now are. Farewell.

Maestricht, March 20,
New Style, 1655.

The third Letter written by Mr. Isaac Gruter, to Dr. Rawley, concerning the writings of the Lord Bacon.

Reverendo, doctissimoq; viro Gulielmo Rawleio, S. Theologiæ Doctori S. P. D. Isaacus Gruterus.

Vir Reverende et amicissime,

Quanta in parte honoris deputarem missa Verulamii Posthuma, quæ è tuo non ita pridem Museo Latina prodiere, actæ protinus gratiæ significarunt, si curam amici, qui hìc operam suam non frustra requiri passus est, haud luserit fortuna trajectus, varia è causa sæpe dubii. Nunc tantò majus mihi istud beneficium est, quantò insigniorem frugem præstitit lectio non ignava, et par cum quibusdam ex officina Baconiana à me editis collatio; auctiorem enim tibi debemus Historiam Densi et Rari, sed et alia isto contenta volumine priusquam non conspecta. Unum mirabar, non exstare ibi cæteris aggregatam Verulamii Epistolam ad Henricum Savilium, de adjumentis facultatum intellectualium, si ex literis olim tuis non vanè mihi recordanti subjicit titulum appellata memoria, saltem inscriptione non longè dissimili. Si per oblivionem ibi forte non comparet, scriniis tamen vestris inerrat, optem videre apographum, in cujus usu bonam fidem non desiderabis; nisi Anglicano Sermone scripta locum invenerit in majori opere, quod vernacula duntaxat complectitur. Id si nos scire patiaris, et an obtinendi libri, in quo et Oratoria, fors et epistolica, digeruntur, maternæ linguæ partus, spes ex promisso fuerit non immodesta, animo meo consecraris tui memoriam, in cujus veneratione nunquam defatigabitur segnescere alacritas obstrictissimi affectus. Vale.

Trajecti ad Mosam, unde post duos trésve menses Novomagum migro, Batavis futurus propior. Per Smithæum tamen transmittere ad me perges, si quid volueris.

Kal. Julii,
St. N. CIↃ IↃC LIX.

The same in English, by the Publisher.

To the Reverend and most Learned William Rawley, D. D. Isaac Gruter wisheth much health.

Reverend Sir, and my most dear Friend,

How much I hold myself honoured by your present of the Lord Bacon's Posthumous Works, published lately by you in Latin, my thanks immediately returned had let you understand, if ill fortune in the passage (which is, for divers causes uncertain) had not deluded the care of a friend, who did here with much readiness undertake the conveyance of them.

Now the gift is by so much the greater, by how much the more benefit I reaped by diligent reading of those papers, and by comparing them with some of the Lord Bacon's works, which I myself had formerly published. For to you we owe the more enlarged History *de denso et raro*, as also many other things contained in that volume, which saw not the light before. One paper I wonder I saw not amongst them, the Epistle of the Lord Bacon to Sir Henry Savil, about the helps of the intellectual powers, spoken of long ago in your letters, under that or some such title, if my memory does not deceive me. If it was not forgotten, and remains among your private papers, I should be glad to see a copy of it, in the use of which my faithfulness shall not be wanting. But perhaps it is written in the English tongue, and is a part of that greater volume,

which contains only his English works. If you will please to let me understand so much, and likewise give me assurance of obtaining that book, in which the Speeches, and it may be the Letters of the Lord Bacon, written by him in English, are digested, you will render your memory sacred in my mind, in the veneration of which the cheerfulness of a most devoted affection shall never be weary. Farewell.

From Maestricht, from whence, after two or three months, I remove to Nimmeghen nigher to Holland. But you may convey to me any thing you desire, by Mr. Smith.

July 1st. New Style, 1659.

LETTERS FROM STEPHENS,

NOT PRINTED IN THE PREVIOUS PART OF THIS VOLUME.

To Mr. Mathewe.

Sir,

I was heartily glad to hear that you had passed so great a part of your journey in so good health. My aim was right in my address of letters to those persons in the court of Scotland, who were likeliest to be used for the affairs of England; but the pace they held was too swift, for the men were come away before my letters could reach them. With the first, I have renewed acquaintance, and it was like a bill of revivor, by way of cross-suits; for he was as ready to have begun with me. The second did this day arrive, and took acquaintance with me instantly in the council-chamber, and was willing to entertain me with further demonstrations of confidence, than I was willing at that time to admit. But I have had no serious speech with him, nor do I yet know whether any of the doubles of my letter have been delivered to the king. It may perhaps have proved your luck to be the first.

Things are here in good quiet. The king acts excellently well; for he puts in clauses of reservation to every proviso. He saith, he would be sorry to have just cause to remove any. He saith, he will displace none who hath served the queen and state sincerely, &c. The truth is, here be two extremes, some few would have no change, no not reformation. Some many would have much change, even with perturbation. God, I hope, will direct this wise king to hold a mean between reputation enough, and no terrors. In my particular I have many comforts and assurances; but in my own opinion the chief is, that the canvassing world is gone, and the deserving world is come. And withal I find myself as one awaked out of sleep; which I have not been this long time, nor could I think have been now without such a great noise as this, which yet is in *aurâ leni.* I have written this to you in haste, my end being no more than to write, and thereby to make you know that I will ever continue the same, and still be sure to wish you as heartily well as to myself.

To Mr. Mathew.

Sir,

Two letters of mine are now already walking towards you; but so that we might meet, it were no matter though our letters should lose their way. I make a shift in the mean time to be glad of your approaches, and would be more glad to be an agent for your presence, who have been a patient for your absence. If your body by indisposition make you acknowledge the healthful air of your native country, much more do I assure myself that you continue to have your mind no way estranged. And as my trust with the state is above suspicion, so my knowledge, both of your loyalty and honest nature, will ever make me show myself your faithful friend, without scruple: you have reason to commend that gentleman to me by whom you sent your last, although his having travelled so long amongst the sadder nations of the world make him much the less easy upon small acquaintance to be understood. I have sent you some copies of my book of the Advancement, which you desired, and a little work of my recreation, which you desired not. My Instauration I reserve for our conference; it sleeps not. These works of the alphabet are in my opinion of less use to you where you are now, than at Paris; and therefore I conceived that you had sent me a kind of tacit countermand of your former request. But in regard that some friends of yours have still insisted here, I send them to you; and for my part, I value your own reading more than your publishing them to others. Thus, in extreme haste, I have scribbled to you I know not what, which therefore is the less affected, and for that very reason will not be esteemed the less by you.

To Mr. Mathew.

Sir,

I thank you for your last, and pray you to believe, that your liberty in giving opinion of those writings which I sent you, is that which I sought, which I expected, and which I take in exceeding good part; so good, as that it makes me recontinue, or rather continue my hearty wishes of your company here, that so you might use the same liberty concerning my actions, which now you exercise concerning my writings. For that of Queen Elizabeth your judgment of the temper, and truth of that part, which concerns some of her foreign proceedings, concurs fully with the judgment of others, to whom I have communi-

cated part of it; and as things go, I suppose they are more likely to be more and more justified, and allowed. And whereas you say, for some other part, that it moves and opens a fair occasion and broad way into some field of contradiction; on the other side, it is written to me from the Leiger at Paris, and some others also, that it carries a manifest impression of truth with it, and it even convinces as it goes. These are their very words; which I write not for mine own glory, but to show what variety of opinion rises from the disposition of several readers. And I must confess my desire to be, that my writings should not court the present time, or some few places in such sorts as might make them either less general to persons, or less permanent in future ages. As to the Instauration, your so full approbation thereof, I read with much comfort, by how much more my heart is upon it; and by how much less I expected consent and concurrence in matter so obscure. Of this I can assure you, that though many things of great hope decay with youth, (and multitude of civil businesses is wont to diminish the price, though not the delight, of contemplations) yet the proceeding in that work doth gain with me upon my affection and desire, both by years and businesses. And therefore, I hope, even by this, that it is well pleasing to God, from whom and to whom all good moves. To him I most heartily commend you.

To Sir Henry Saville.

Sir,

Coming back from your invitation at Eton, where I had refreshed myself with company, which I loved; I fell into a consideration of that part of policy whereof philosophy speaketh too much, and laws too little; and that is, of education of youth. Whereupon fixing my mind awhile, I found straightways, and noted, even in the discourses of philosophers, which are so large in this argument, a strange silence concerning one principal part of that subject. For as touching the framing and seasoning of youth to moral virtues, (as tolerance of labours, continency from pleasures, obedience, honour, and the like), they handle it; but touching the improvement and helping of the intellectual powers, as of conceit, memory, and judgment, they say nothing; whether it were, that they thought it to be a matter wherein nature only prevailed, or that they intended it, as referred, to the several and proper arts, which teach the use of reason and speech. But for the

former of these two reasons, howsoever it pleaseth them to distinguish of habits and powers; the experience is manifest enough, that the motions and faculties of the wit and memory may be not only governed and guided, but also confirmed and enlarged, by customs and exercise daily applied: as if a man exercise shooting, he shall not only shoot nearer the mark, but also draw a stronger bow. And as for the latter, of comprehending these precepts, within the arts, of logic and rhetoric; if it be rightly considered, their office is distinct altogether from this point; for it is no part of the doctrine, of the use or handling of an instrument, to teach how to whet or grind the instrument to give it a sharp edge; or how to quench it, or otherwise, whereby to give it a stronger temper. Wherefore, finding this part of knowledge not broken, I have, but "*tanquam aliud agens*," entered into it, and salute you with it; dedicating it, after the ancient manner, first as to a dear friend, and then as to an apt person; for as much as you have, both place to practise it, and judgment and leisure to look deeper into it than I have done. Herein you must call to mind, Ἄριστον μὲν ὑδῶρ. Though the argument be not of great heighth and dignity, nevertheless it is of great and universal use. And yet I do not see why, to consider it rightly, that should not be a learning of heighth which teacheth to raise the highest and worthiest part of the mind. But howsoever that be, if the world take any light and use by this writing, I will, the gratulation be to the good friendship and acquaintance between us two. And so recommend you to God's divine protection.

To Sir George Villiers.

Sir,

There is a particular wherein I think you may do yourself honour, which as I am informed hath been laboured by my lady of Bedford, and put in good way by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, concerning the restoring to preach of a famous preacher, one Doctor Burgesse, who though he hath been silenced a great time, yet he hath now made such a submission, touching his conformity, as giveth satisfaction. It is much desired also by Gray's Inn (if he shall be free from the state,) to choose him for their preacher: and certainly it is safer to place him there, than in another auditory, because he will be well watched if he should any ways fly forth in his sermons beyond duty. This may seem a trifle; but I do assure you, in opening

this man's mouth to preach, you shall open very many mouths to speak honour of you; and I confess I would have a full cry of puritans, of papists, of all the world to speak well of you; and besides I am persuaded, (which is above all earthly glory) you shall do God good service in it. I pray deal with his majesty in it. I rest

Your devoted and bounden Servant,

June 13, 1616. FRA. BACON.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

First from the bottom of my heart, I thank the God of all mercy and salvation, that he hath preserved you from receiving any hurt by your fall; and I pray his divine Majesty ever to preserve you, on horseback and on foot, from hurt and fear of hurt.

Now touching the clothing business; for that I perceive the cloth goeth not off as it should, and that Wiltshire is now come in with complaint as well as Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, so that this gangrene creepeth on; I humbly pray your majesty to take into your majesty's princely consideration a remedy for the present stand, which certainly will do the deed; and for any thing that I know will be honourable and convenient, though joined with some loss in your majesty's customs, which I know in a business of this quality, and being but for an interim till you may negotiate, your majesty doth not esteem. And it is this:

That your majesty by your proclamation do forbid (after fourteen days, giving that time for suiting men's selves) the wearing of any stuff made wholly of silk, without mixture of wool, for the space of six months. So your majesty shall supply outward vent with inward use, specially for the finer cloths, which are those wherein the stand principally is, and which silk wearers are likest to buy; and you shall show a most princely care over thousands of the poor people; and besides, your majesty shall blow a horn, to let the Flemings know your majesty will not give over the chase. Again, the winter season coming on is fittest for wearing of cloth, and there is scope enough left for bravery and vanity by lacing and embroidery, so it be upon cloth or stuffs of wool.

I thought it my duty to offer and submit this remedy, amongst others, to your majesty's great wisdom, because it pleased you to lay the care of this business upon me, and indeed my care did fly to it before, as it shall always do to

any knots and difficulties in your business, wherein hitherto I have been not unfortunate. God ever have you in his most precious custody. Your majesty's most faithful and most bounden Servant,

Sept. 13, 1616. FRA. BACON.

To the Lord Viscount Villers.

My very good Lord,

It was my opinion from the beginning, that this company will never overcome the business of the cloth; and that the impediments are as much or more in the persons which are *instrumenta animata* than in the dead business itself.

I have therefore sent unto the king here enclosed my reasons, which I pray your lordship to show his majesty.

The new company and the old company are but the sons of Adam to me, and I take myself to have some credit with both, but it is upon fear rather with the old, and upon love rather with the new, and yet with both upon persuasion that I understand the business.

Nevertheless I walk in *viâ regiâ*, which is not absolutely acceptable to either. For the new company would have all their demands granted, and the old company would have the king's work given over and deserted.

My opinion is, that the old company be drawn to succeed into the contract, (else the king's honour suffereth); and that we all draw in one way to effect that. If time, which is the wisest of things, prove the work impossible or inconvenient, which I do not yet believe, I know his majesty and the state will not suffer them to perish.

I wish what shall be done were done with resolution and speed, and that your lordship (because it is a gracious business) had thanks of it next the king; and that there were some commission under his majesty's sign manual, to deal with some selected persons of the old company, and to take their answers and consent under their hands, and that the procuring the commission, and the procuring of their offers to be accepted, were your lordship's work.

In this treaty my Lord Chancellor must by no means be left out, for he will moderate well, and aimeth at his majesty's ends.

Mr. Solicitor is not yet returned, but I look for him presently. I rest

Your Lordship's true and most devoted Servant,

Monday, 14th of October, at 10 of the Clock. FR. BACON.

To the Lord Viscount Villiers.

My very good Lord,

Now that the king hath received my opinion, with the judge's opinion unto whom it was referred, touching the proposition for Inns in point of law; it resteth that it be moulded and carried in that sort, as it may pass with best contentment and conveniency. Wherein I that ever love good company, as I was joined with others in the legal point, so I desire not to be alone in the direction touching the conveniency. And therefore I send your lordship a form of warrant for the king's signature, whereby the framing of the business and that which belongeth to it may be referred to myself with Serjeant Montague and Serjeant Finch; and though Montague should change his place, that alteration hurteth not the business, but rather helpeth it. And because the inquiry and survey touching Inns, will require much attendance and charge, and the making of the licenses, I shall think fit (when that question cometh to me) to be to the justice of assize, and not to those that follow this business: therefore his majesty may be pleased to consider what proportion or dividend shall be allotted to Mr. Mompesson, and those that shall follow it at their own charge, which useth in like cases to be a fifth. So I ever rest

Your lordship's true and most devoted Servant,

Nov. 13, 1616. FR. BACON.

To the Lord Viscount Villiers.

My very good Lord,

I think his majesty was not only well advised, but well inspired, to give order for this same wicked child of Cain, Bertram, to be examined before he was further proceeded with. And I for my part, before I had received his majesty's pleasure by my Lord Chamberlain, went thus far; that I had appointed him to be further examined, and also had taken order with Mr. Solicitor that he should be provided to make some declaration at his trial, in some solemn fashion, and not to let such a strange murder pass as if it had been but a horsestealing.

But upon his majesty's pleasure signified, I forthwith caused the trial to be stayed, and examined the party according to his majesty's questions; and also sent for the principal counsel in the cause, whereupon Sir John Tyndal's report was grounded, to discern the justice or iniquity of the said report as his majesty likewise commanded.

I send therefore the case of Bertram truly stated and

collected, and the examination taken before myself and Mr. Solicitor; whereby it will appear to his majesty that Sir John Tyndal (as to this cause) is a kind of a martyr; for if ever he made a just report in his life, this was it.

But the event since all this is, that this Bertram being, as it seemeth, indurate or in despair, hath hanged himself in prison; of which accident, as I am sorry, because he is taken from example and public justice, so yet I would not for any thing it had been before his examination. So that there may be otherwise some occasion taken either by some declaration in the King's Bench upon the return of the coroner's inquest, or by some printed book of the fact, or by some other means (whereof I purpose to advise with my Lord Chancellor) to have both his majesty's royal care, and the truth of the fact, with the circumstances manifested and published.

For the taking a tie of my Lord Chief Justice before he was placed, it was done before your letter came, and on Tuesday Heath and Shute shall be admitted and all perfected.

My Lord Chancellor purposeth to be at the hall tomorrow, to give my Lord Chief Justice his oath; I pray God it hurt him not this cold weather. God ever prosper you.

Your true and most devoted Servant,

Sunday night, the 17th of November, 1616. FR. BACON.

To the Lord Viscount Villiers.

My very good Lord,

I am glad to find your lordship mindful of your own business, and if any man put you in mind of it, I do not dislike that neither; but your lordship may assure yourself in whatsoever you commit to me, your lordship's further care shall be needless. For I desire to take nothing from my master and my friend, but care, and therein I am so covetous, as I will leave them as little as may be.

Now therefore things are grown to a conclusion, touching your land and office, I will give your lordship an account of that which is passed; and acquaint your judgment (which I know to be great and capable of any thing) with your own business; that you may discern the difference between doing things substantially, and between shuffling and talking: and first for your patent.

First, It was my counsel and care that your book should be fee-farm and not fee-simple; whereby the rent of the

crown in succession is not diminished, and yet the quantity of the land which you have upon your value is enlarged; whereby you have both honour and profit.

Secondly, By the help of Sir Lyonel Cranfield I advanced the value of Sherbourn from 26,000*l.* (which was thought and admitted by my Lord Treasurer and Sir John Deccomb as a value of great favour to your lordship, because it was a thousand pounds more than it was valued at to Somerset) to thirty two thousand pounds, whereby there was six thousand pounds gotten and yet justly.

Thirdly, I advised the course of rating Hartington at a hundred years' purchase, and the rest at thirty-five years' purchase fee-farm, to be set down and expressed in the warrant; that it may appear, and remain of record, that your lordship had no other rates made to you in favour than such as purchasers upon sale are seldom drawn unto; whereby you have honour.

Fourthly, That lease to the feoffees, which was kept as a secret in the deck (and was not only of Hartington, but also of most of the other particulars in your book,) I caused to be throughly looked into and provided for; without which your assurance had been nothing worth; and yet I handled it so, and made the matter so well understood, as you were not put to be a suitor to the prince, for his good will in it, as others ignorantly thought you must have done.

Fifthly, The annexation,* (which nobody dreamt of, and which some idle bold lawyer would perhaps have said had been needless, and yet is of that weight, that there was never yet any man that would purchase any such land from the king, except he had a declaration to discharge it;) I was provident to have it discharged by declaration.

Sixthly, Lest it should be said, that your lordship was the first, (except the queen and the prince) that brake the annexation, upon a mere gift; for that others had it discharged only upon sale, which was for the king's profit and necessity; I found a remedy for that also; because I have carved it in the declaration, as that this was not gift to your lordship, but rather a purchase and exchange (as indeed it was) for Sherbourn.

Seventhly and lastly, I have taken order (as much as in me was) that your lordship in these things which you have passed be not abused, if you part with them; for I have taken notes in a book of their values and former offers.

* The *anneration* by which lands, &c. were united or annexed to the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster.

Now for your office.

First, Whereas my Lord Teynham at the first would have had your Lordship have had but one life in it, and he another; and my Lord Treasurer, and the Solicitor and Deccombe were about to give way to it; I turned utterly that course, telling them that you were to have two lives in it, as well as Somerset had.

Secondly, I have accordingly, in the assurance from your deputies, made them acknowledge the trust and give security not only for your lordship's time, but after: so as you may dispose (if you should die, which I would be sorry to live to) the profits of the office by your will or otherwise to any of your friends for their comfort and advancement.

Thirdly, I dealt so with Whitlocke as well as Heath as there was no difficulty made of the surrender.

Lastly, I did cast with myself, that if your lordship's deputies, had come in by Sir Edward Cooke who was tied to Somerset, it would have been subject to some clamour from Somerset, and some question what was forfeited by Somerset's attainder (being but of felony) to the king: but now they coming in from a new chief justice, all is without question or scruple.

Thus your lordship may see my love and care towards you, which I think infinitely too little in respect of the fulness of my mind; but I thought good to write this, to make you understand better the state of your own business; doing by you as I do by the king; which is, to do his business safely and with foresight, not only of to-morrow or next day, but afar off, and not to come fiddling with a report to him what is done every day, but to give him up a good sum in the end.

I purpose to send your lordship a calendar fair written of those evidence which concern your estate, for so much as I have passed my hands; which in truth are not fit to remain with solicitors, no nor with friends, but in some great cabinet, to be made for that purpose.

All this while I must say plainly to your lordship, that you fall short for your present charge, except you play the good husband: for the office of Teynham is in reversion, Darcye's land is in reversion; all the land in your books is but in reversion, and yields you no present profit, because you pay the fee-farm. So as you are a strange heteroclite in grammar, for you want the present tense; many verbs want the preterperfect tense and some the future tense, but none want the present tense. I will hereafter write to your

lordship what I think of for that supply; to the end that you may, as you have begun to your great honour, despise money, where it crosseth reason of state or virtue. But I will trouble you no further at this time. God ever preserve and prosper your lordship.

Your true and most devoted Servant,

November 29, 1616. FR. BACON.

To the Lord Viscount Villiers.

My very good Lord,

I delivered the proclamation for cloth to Secretary Winwood on Saturday, but he keepeth it to carry it down himself, and goeth down, as I take it to-day: his majesty may perceive by the docket of the proclamation, that I do not only study, but act that point touching the judges, which his majesty commandeth in your last.

Yesterday was a day of great good for his majesty's service, and the peace of this kingdom concerning duels, by occasion of Darcye's case. I spake big, and publishing his majesty's straight charge to me, said it had struck me blind, as in point of duels and cartels, &c. I should not know a coronet from a hatband. I was bold also to declare how excellently his majesty had expressed to me a contemplation of his touching duels; that is, that when he came forth and saw himself princely attended with goodly noblesse and gentlemen, he entered into the thought, that none of their lives were in certainty not for twenty-four hours from the duel; for it was but a heat or a mistaking, and then a lie, and then a challenge, and then life: saying that I did not marvel seeing Xerxes shed tears to think none of his great army should be alive once within a hundred years, his majesty were touched with compassion to think that not one of his attendants but might be dead within twenty-four hours by the duel. This I write because his majesty may be wary what he sayeth to me (in things of this nature) I being so apt to play the blab. In this also, I forgot not to prepare the judges, and wish them to profess, and as it were to denounce, that in all cases of duel capital before them, they will use equal severity towards the *insolent* murder by the duel, and the *insidious* murder; and that they will extirpate that difference out of the opinions of men, which they did excellent well.

I must also say that it was the first time that I heard my Lord of Arundel speak in that place; and I do assure your lordship, he doth excellently become the court; he

speaketh wisely and weightily, and yet easily and clearly as a great nobleman should do.

There hath been a proceeding in the King's Bench against Bertram's keeper, for misdemeanour, and I have put a little pamphlet (prettily penned by one Mr. Trotte, that I set on work touching the whole business) to the press by my Lord Chancellor's advice.

I pray God direct his majesty in the cloth business, that that thorn may be once out of our sides. His majesty knoweth my opinion *ab antiquo*. Thanks be to God of your health, and long may you live to do us all good. I rest

Your true and most devoted Servant,

FR. BACON.

This Letter was written to the Earl of Buckingham, on the same day Sir Francis Bacon was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

My dearest Lord,

It is both in cares and kindness, that small ones float up to the tongue, and great ones sink down into the heart in silence. Therefore I could speak little to your Lordship to day, neither had I fit time. But I must profess thus much, that in this day's work you are the truest and perfectest mirror and example of firm and generous friendship that ever was in court. And I shall count every day lost, wherein I shall not either study your welldoing in thought, or do your name honour in speech, or perform you service in deed. Good my Lord, account and accept me

Your most bounden and devoted

March 7, 1616. Friend and Servant of all men living,

FR. BACON. C. S

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My ever best Lord, now better than yourself,

Your lordship's pen or rather pencil hath portrayed towards me such magnanimity and nobleness and true kindness, as me thinketh I see the image of some ancient virtue, and not any thing of these times. It is the line of my life, and not the lines of my letter, that must express my thankfulness: wherein if I fail, then God fail me, and make me as miserable as I think myself at this time happy, by this reviver, through his majesty's singular clemency, and your incomparable love and favour. God preserve you, prosper you, and reward you, for your kindness to

Your raised and infinitely obliged Friend and Servant,

Sept. 22, 1617. FR. BACON, C. S.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My singular good Lord,

I am now for five or six days retired to my house in the country: for I think all my lords are willing to do as scholars do, who though they call them holy-days, yet they mean them play-days.

We purpose to meet again on Easter Monday, and go all to the Spittall sermon for that day, and therein to revive the ancient religious manner when all the counsel used to attend those sermons; which some neglected in Queen Elizabeth's time, and his majesty's great devotion in the due hearing of sermons himself with his counsel at the court brought into desuetude. But now our attendance upon his majesty by reason of his absence cannot be, it is not amiss to revive.

I perceive by a letter your lordship did write some days since to my Lord Brackley, that your lordship would have the king satisfied by presidents, that letters patents might be of the dignity of an earldom without delivery of the patent by the king's own hand, or without the ordinary solemnities of a creation. I find presidents somewhat tending to the same purpose, yet not matching fully. But howsoever let me, according to my faithful and free manner of dealing with your lordship, say to you, that since the king means it, I would not have your lordship, for the satisfying a little trembling or panting of the heart in my Lord or Lady Brackley, to expose your lordship's self, or myself (whose opinion would be thought to be relied upon) or the king our master to envy with the nobility of this realm; as to have these ceremonies of honour dispensed with, which in conferring honour have used to be observed, like a kind of Doctor Bullatus without the ceremony of a commencement: the king and you know I am not ceremonious in nature, and therefore you may think (if it please you) I do it in judgment. God ever preserve you.

Your Lordship's most faithful
and devoted Friend and Servant,
FR. BACON, C. S.

Gorhambury, April 13, 1617.

I purpose to send the presidents themselves by my Lord of Brackley, but I thought fit to give you some taste of my opinion before.

To the King.

It may please your most Excellent Majesty,

Mr. Vicechamberlain hath acquainted myself and the rest of the commissioners for the marriage with Spain, which are here, with your majesty's instructions, signed by your royal hands, touching that point of the suppressing of pirates as it hath relation to his negotiation; whereupon we met yesterday at my Lord Admiral's at Chelsea, because we were loath to draw my lord into the air, being but newly upon his recovery.

We conceive the parts of the business are four: the charge; the confederations, and who shall be solicited or retained to come in; the forces and the distributions of them; and the enterprise. We had only at this time conference amongst ourselves, and shall appoint (after the holidays) times for the calling before us such as are fit, and thereupon perform all the parts of your royal commandments.

In this conference, I met with somewhat, which I must confess was altogether new to me, and opened but darkly neither; whereof I think Mr. Vicechamberlain will give your majesty some light, for so we wished. By occasion whereof I hold it my duty in respect of the great place wherein your majesty hath set me (being only made worthy by your grace), which maketh it decent for me to counsel you *ad summas rerum* to intimate or represent to your majesty thus much.

I do foresee, in my simple judgment, much inconvenience to insue, if your majesty proceed to this treaty with Spain, and that your counsel draw not all one way. I saw the bitter fruits of a divided counsel the last parliament; I saw no very pleasant fruits thereof in the matter of the cloth. This will be of equal, if not more inconvenience; for wheresoever the opinion of your people is material (as in many cases it is not) there, if your counsel be united, they shall be able almost to give law to opinion and rumour; but if they be divided, the infusion will not be according to the strength and virtue of the votes of your counsel, but according to the aptness and inclination of the popular. This I leave to your majesty in your high wisdom to remedy. Only I could wish that when Sir John Digby's instructions are perfected, and that he is ready to go, your majesty would be pleased to write some formal letter to the body of your counsel (if it shall be in your absence), signifying to them your resolution in general, to the end that,

when deliberation shall be turned into resolution, no man, howsoever he may retain the inwardness of his opinion, may be active *in contrarium.*

The letters of my lords of the council, with your majesty touching the affairs of Ireland written largely and articulately, and by your majesty's direction, will much facilitate our labours here, though there will not want matter of consultation thereupon. God ever preserve your majesty safe and happy.

Your Majesty's most devoted
and obliged Servant,

London, April 19, 1617. FR. BACON, C. S.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My singular good Lord,

I send your lordship, according to the direction of your letter, a note of the presidents that I find in my Lord Brackley's business; which do rather come near the case than match it. Your lordship knoweth already my opinion, that I would rather have you constant in the matter, than instant for the time.

I send also inclosed an account of council business, by way of remembrance to his majesty, which it may please you to deliver to him.

The queen returneth her thanks to your lordship, for the dispatch of the warrant, touching her house; I have not yet acquainted the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer with it; but I purpose to-morrow to deliver them the warrant, and to advise with them for the executing the same.

I have received the king's letter with another from your lordship, touching the cause of the officers, and Sir Arthur Ingram, whereof I will be very careful to do them justice.

Yesterday I took my place in chancery, which I hold only from the king's grace and favour, and your constant friendship. There was much ado, and a great deal of world. But this matter of pomp, which is heaven to some men, is hell to me, or purgatory at least. It is true, I was glad to see, that the king's choice was so generally approved; and that I had so much interest in men's good wills and good opinions, because it maketh me the fitter instrument to do my master service, and my friend also.

After I was set in chancery I published his majesty's charge which he gave me, when he gave me the seal; and what rules and resolutions I had taken for the fulfilling his commandments. I send your lordship a copy of that I said.

My Lord Hay coming to take his leave of me two days before, I told him what I was meditating, and he desired me to send him some remembrance of it; and so I could not but send him another copy thereof. Men tell me it hath done the king a great deal of honour; insomuch that some of my friends that are wise men, and no vain ones, did not stick to say to me, that there was not these seven years such a preparation for a parliament; which was a commendation I confess pleased me well. I pray take some fit time to shew it to his majesty, because if I misunderstood him in any thing, I may amend it, because I know his judgment is higher and deeper than mine.

I take infinite contentment to hear his majesty is in great good health and vigour; I pray God preserve and continue it. Thus wishing you well above all men living, next my master and his. I rest

Your true and devoted Friend and Servant,

FR. BACON, C. S.

Dorset House, which putteth me in mind to thank your lordship, for your care of me touching York House. May 8, 1617.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I shall write to your lordship of a business, which your lordship may think to concern myself; but I do think it concerneth your lordship much more. For as for me, as my judgment is not so weak to think it can do me any hurt, so my love to you is so strong, as I would prefer the good of you and yours before mine own particular.

It seemeth Secretary Winwood hath officiously busied himself to make a match between your brother and Sir Edward Coke's daughter: and as we hear he doth it rather to make a faction than out of any great affection to your lordship: it is true, he hath the consent of Sir Edward Coke (as we [illegible] upon reasonable conditions for your brother, and [illegible] without question may be found in [illegible] But the mother's consent is not [illegible] woman's, who expecteth a great [illegible] which without her consent [illegible] ut of my faith and freedom [illegible] very inconvenient both for [illegible] lisgraced house, which in [illegible] d.

Next, He shall marry into a troubled house of man and wife, which in religion and christian discretion is disliked.

Thirdly, Your lordship will go near to lose all such your friends as are adverse to Sir Edward Coke, (myself only except, who out of a pure love and thankfulness shall ever be firm to you).

And lastly, and chiefly, (believe it) It will greatly weaken and distract the king's service; for though in regard of the king's great wisdom and depth, I am persuaded those things will not follow which they imagine; yet opinion will do a great deal of harm, and cast the king back, and make him relapse into those inconveniencies which are now well on to be recovered.

Therefore my advice is, and your lordship shall do yourself a great deal of honour, if, according to religion and the law of God, your lordship will signify unto my lady your mother, that your desire is, that the marriage be not pressed or proceeded in without the consent of both parents, and so either break it altogether, or defer any further delay in it till your lordship's return: and this the rather, for that (besides the inconvenience of the matter itself) it hath been carried so harshly and inconsiderately by Secretary Winwood, as for doubt that the father should take away the maiden by force; the mother to get the start hath conveyed her away secretly; which is ill of all sides. Thus hoping your lordship will not only accept well, but believe my faithful advice, who by my great experience in the world must needs see further than your lordship can. I ever rest,

Your Lordship's true and most devoted
Friend and Servant,
Fr. Bacon, C. S.

I have not heard from your lordship since I sent the king my last account of counsel business, but I assure myself you received it, because I sent at the same time a packet to Secretary Laque, who hath signified to me that he hath received it.

I pray your lordship deliver to his majesty this little note of chancery business.

July 12, 1617.

To the King.

It may please your most Excellent Majesty,

I think it agreeable to my duty, and the great obligation wherein I am tied to your majesty, to be freer than other

men in giving your majesty faithful counsel, while things are in passing; and more bound than other men in doing your commandments, when your resolution is settled and made known to me.

I shall therefore most humbly crave pardon from your majesty, if in plainness and no less humbleness I deliver to your majesty my honest and disinterested opinion in the business of the match of Sir John Villiers, which I take to be *magnum in parvo:* preserving always the laws and duties of a firm friendship to my Lord of Buckingham, whom I will never cease to love, and to whom I have written already, but have not heard yet from his lordship.

But first, I have three suits to make to your majesty, hoping well you will grant them all.

The first is, That if there be any merit in drawing on that match, your majesty would bestow the thanks not upon the zeal of Sir Edward Coke to please your majesty, nor upon the eloquent persuasions or pragmaticals of Mr. Secretary Winwood, but upon them, that carrying your commandments and directions with strength and justice, in the matter of the Governor of Diepe, in the matter of Sir Robert Rich, and in the matter of protecting the lady, according to your majesty's commandment, have so humbled Sir Edward Coke, as he seeketh now that with submission which (as your majesty knoweth) before he rejected with scorn: for this is the true orator that hath persuaded this business, as I doubt not but your majesty in your excellent wisdom doth easily discern.

My second suit is, That your majesty would not think me so pusillanimous, as that I, that when I was but Mr. Bacon, had ever (through your majesty's favour) good reason at Sir Edward Coke's hands, when he was at the greatest, should now that your majesty of your great goodness hath placed me so near your chair, (being as I hope by God's grace, and your instructions, made a servant according to your heart and hand) fear him or take umbrage of him, in respect of mine own particular.

My third suit is, That if your majesty be resolved the match shall go on, after you have heard my reasons to the contrary, I may receive therein your particular will and commandments from yourself, that I may conform myself thereunto, imagining with myself (though I will not wager on women's minds) that I can prevail more with the mother than any other man. For if I should be requested in it from my Lord of Buckingham, the answers of a true friend ought to be, That I had rather go against his mind than

against his good: but your majesty I must obey; and besides, I shall conceive that your majesty, out of your great wisdom and depth, doth see those things which I see not.

Now therefore, not to hold your majesty with many words, (which do but drown matter) let me most humbly desire your majesty to take into your royal consideration, that the state is at this time not only in good quiet and obedience, but in good affection and disposition. Your majesty's prerogative and authority having risen some just degrees above the horizon more than heretofore, which hath dispersed vapours: your judges are in good temper, your justices of peace (which is the body of the gentlemen of England grow to be loving and obsequious, and to be weary of the humour of ruffling; all mutinous spirits grow to be a little poor and to draw in their horns, and not the less for your majesty's disauctorizing the man I speak of. Now then I reasonably doubt, that if there be but an opinion of his coming in with the strength of such an alliance, it will give a turn and relapse in men's minds into the former state of things hardly to be holpen, to the great weakening of your majesty's service.

Again, Your majesty may have perceived, that as far as it was fit for me in modesty to advise, I was ever for a parliament, (which seemeth to me to be *Cardo rerum* or *summa summarum* for the present occasions). But this my advice was ever conditional, that your majesty should go to a parliament with a counsel united and not distracted; and that your majesty will give me leave never to expect, if that man come in. Not for any difference of mine own, (for I am *omnibus omnia* for your majesty's service), but because he is by nature unsociable, and by habit popular, and too old now to take a new ply. And men begin already to collect, yea, and to conclude, that he that raiseth such a smoke to get in will set all on fire when he is in.

It may please your majesty now I have said, I have done: and as I think I have done a duty not unworthy the first year of your last high favour, I most humbly pray your majesty to pardon me, if in any thing I have erred; for my errors shall always be supplied by obedience: and so I conclude with my prayers for the happy preservation of your majesty's person and estate.

Your Majesty's most humble, bounden,
and most devoted Servant,
FR. BACON, C. S.

From Gorhambury,
this 26th of July, 1617.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I do think long to hear from your lordship, touching my last letter, wherein I gave you my opinion touching your brother's match. As I then shewed my dislike of the matter, so the carriage of it here in the manner I dislike as much. If your lordship think it is humour or interest in me that leads me, God judge my sincerity. But I must say, that in your many noble favours towards me, they ever moved and flowed from yourself, and not from any of your friends whatsoever; and therefore in requital give me leave that my counsels to you again be referred to your happiness, and not to the desires of any of your friends. I shall ever give you, as I give my master, safe counsel and such as time will approve.

I received yesterday from Mr. Attorney the queen's bill, which I send your lordship. The payment is not out of lands, but out of the customs, and so it can be but the rent. Your lordship remembereth, it is but in a case which I hope shall never be; that is, after his majesty's death, if she survive. God ever bless and direct you.

Your Lordship's most faithful
and devoted Friend and Servant,
FR. BACON, C. S.

Gorhambury, this
25th of July, 1617.

To the Earl of Bristol.

My very good Lord,

I now only send my best wishes, to follow you at sea and land, with due thanks for your late great favours. God knows whether the length of your voyage will not exceed the size of my hour-glass; but whilst I live, my affection to do you service shall remain quick under the ashes of my fortune.

To

Sir,

In this solitude of friends, which is the base court of adversity, where nobody almost will be seen stirring, I have often remembered this Spanish saying, *Amor sin fin, no tiene fin.* This bids me make choice of your friend and mine for his noble succours; not now towards the aspiring but only the respiring of my fortunes. I who am a man of books have observed, that he hath both the magnanimity of the old Romans, and the cordiality of the old English, and withal I believe he hath the wit of both:

sure I am that, for myself, I have found him in both my fortunes to esteem me so much above my just value, and to love me so much above the possibility of deserving, or obliging on my part, as if he were a friend created and reserved for such a time as this. You know what I have to say to the great lord, and I conceive it cannot pass so fitly to him by the mouth of any as of this gentleman, and therefore do your best (which I know will be of power enough) to engage him, both in the substance and to the secrecy of it; for I can think of no man but yourself to be used by me in this, who are so private, so faithful, and so discreet a friend to us both; as, on the other side, I dare swear he is, and know myself to be as true to you as your own heart.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Yesterday I know was no day; now I hope I shall hear from your lordship, who are my anchor in these floods. Meanwhile, to ease my heart, I have written to his majesty the inclosed,* which I pray your lordship to read advisedly, and to deliver it, or not to deliver it, as you think good. God ever prosper your lordship.

Yours ever, &c.

March 25, 1621. FR. St. ALBAN, Canc.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Since my last to your lordship, I did first send for Mr. Attorney General, and made him know, that since I heard from court, I was resolved to further the match and the conditions thereof for your lordship's brother's advancement the best I could. I did send also to my Lady Hatton and some other special friends, to let them know, I would in any thing declare myself for the match; which I did, to the end that, if they had any apprehension of my assistance, they might be discouraged in it. I sent also to Sir John Butler, and after by letter to my lady your mother, to tender my performance of any good office towards the match or the advancement from the mother. This was all I could think of for the present.

I did ever foresee, that this alliance would go near to leese me your lordship, that I hold so dear; and that was the only respect particular to myself that moved me to be

* See p. 66.

as I was, till I heard from you. But I will rely upon your constancy and nature and my own deserving, and the firm tie we have in respect of the king's service.

In the mean time I must a little complain to your lordship, that I do hear my lady your mother and your brother Sir John do speak of me with some bitterness and neglect. I must bear with the one as a lady, and the other as a lover, and with both for your lordship's sake, whom I will make judge of any thing they shall have against me. But I hope, though I be a true servant to your lordship, you will not have me to be a vassal to their passions, specially as long as they are governed by Sir Edward Coke and secretary Winwood, the latter of which I take to be the worst; for Sir Edward Coke I think is more modest and discreet. Therefore your lordship shall do me right, and yet I shall take it for favour, if you signify to them that you have received satisfaction from me, and would have them use me friendly, and in good manner. God keep us from these long journeys and absence, which make misunderstandings and give advantage to untruth, and God ever prosper and preserve your lordship.

Your Lordship's true and
devoted Friend and Servant,
FR. BACON. C. S.

Gorhambury,
this 23d of Aug. 1617.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I send your lordship the certificate* touching the inrolment of prentices. We can find no ground for it by law. Myself shall ever be ready to further things that your lordship commendeth; but where the matter will not bear it, your lordship I know will think not the worse, but the better of me, if I signify the true state of things to your lordship; resting ever

Your Lordship's true Friend
and devoted Servant,
FR. BACON, C. S.

York House, this 29th
of October, 1617.

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* The Certificate.

According to his majesty's command, signified by your lordship's letters, we have advisedly considered of the petition touching the inrolment of apprentices indentures, and heard the petitioners counsel, and do find as followeth:

1. That the act of parliament 5° Eliz. doth not warrant the erecting of an office to inrol such indentures in cities, towns corporate, or market towns. But if any such inrolment should be, it must be by the officers there, who are assigned to perform sundry other things touching apprentices and servants.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

The liking which his majesty hath of our proceeding, concerning his household, telleth me that his majesty cannot but dislike the declining and tergiversation of the inferior officers, which by this time he understandeth.

There be but four kinds of retrenchments: 1, the union of tables; 2, the putting down of tables; 3, the abatement of dishes to tables; 4, the cutting off new diets and allowance lately raised: and yet perhaps such as are more necessary than some of the old.

In my opinion the first is the best and most feasible. The Lord Chamberlain's table is the principal table of state. The Lord Steward's table I think is much frequented by Scottish gentlemen. Your lordship's table hath a great attendance; and the groom of the stole's table is much resorted to by the bedchamber. These would not be touched; but for the rest (his majesty's case considered) I think they may well be united into one.

These things are out of my element, but my care runneth where the king's state most laboureth: Sir Lionel Cranfield is yet sick, for which I am very sorry; for methinks his majesty upon these tossings over of his business from one to others hath an apt occasion to go on with subcommittees. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true Friend
and devoted Servant,
FR. BACON, C. S.

York House,
Nov. 19, 1617.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Yesterday at afternoon were read at the table his majesty's two letters, written with his own hand, the matter worthy the hand; for they were written *ex arte imperandi*, if I can judge; and I hope they and the like will disenchant us of the opinion, which yet sticks with us, that to-day will be as yesterday, and to-morrow as to-day, so as there will be (as he saith) *acribus initiis, fine incurioso.*

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2. That in country villages (for which the suit carries most colour) we cannot give the suitors hope, that any profit will be there made warrantable by law.

Thus we have (according to our duties) certified our opinions of this petition, submitting the same nevertheless to his majesty's great wisdom; and rest,

Oct. 25, 1617. At your Lordship's command.

FR. BACON, C. S. H. MONTAGUE, THO. COVENTRY.

I hold my opinion given in my former letter, that the uniting of some tables is the most passable way; but that is not all, for when that is done, the king may save greatly in that which remaineth. For if it be set down what tables shall be fixed, and what diet allowed to them, my steward (as ill a mesnager as I am), or my Lord Mayor's steward, can go near to tell what charge will go near to maintain the proportion; then add to that some large allowance for waste (because the king shall not leese his prerogative to be deceived more than other men), and yet no question there will be a great retrenchment. But against this last abatement will be fronted the payment of arrears. But I confess, I would be glad that I might see, or rather, that a parliament may see, and chiefly that the king (for his own quiet) may see, that upon such a sum paid such an annual retrenchment will follow: for things will never be done in act, except they be first done in conceit.

I know these things do not pertain to me; for my part is to acquit the king's office towards God, by administration of justice, and to oblige the hearts of his people to him by the same, and to maintain his prerogative. But yet because it is *in hoc*, that the king's case laboureth, I cannot but yield my care and my strength too in counsel, such as it is, which cannot be so much as it was between our Lady-day, and Michaelmas last. But whatsoever it is, it is wholly his majesty's without any deflexion.

As soon as I find any possibility of health in Sir Lyonel Cranfield to execute a sub-commission, I will by conference with him frame a draught of a letter from his majesty, for which there is the fairest occasion in the world; and the king hath prepared it as well as possible. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true Friend
and devoted Servant,
FR. BACON, C. S.

York House,
Nov. 22, 1617.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I send your lordship a draught of a letter touching the subcommission,* written in wide lines, because it may be

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* Draught of the Subcommission.

My Lords,

In this first and greatest branch of our charge concerning our house we do find what difficulties are made, and what time is lost, in disputing and of devising upon the manner of doing it; whereof the matter must be, and is so fully

the better amended by his majesty. I think it is so penned as none can except to it, no, nor imagine any thing of it. For the household-business there was given a fortnight's day: for the pensions, the course which I first propounded of abating of a third throughout, and some wholly seemeth well entered into. These be no ill beginnings. But this course of the subcommission thrids all the king's business. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true Friend and devoted Servant,

York House, 27th Nov. 1617. FR. BACON. C. S.

Sir Lyonel Cranfield is now reasonably well recovered.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I thought fit by this my private letter to your lordship, to give you an account of such business as your lordship hath recommended unto me, that you may perceive that I have taken that care of them I ought, and ever shall in those things you recommend or remit to me.

For the suit of the ale-houses which concerneth your brother, Mr. Christopher Villiers, and Mr. Patrick Mawle, I have conferred with my Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Solitor thereupon, and there is a scruple in it, that it should be one of the grievances put down in parliament; which if it be, I may not in my duty and love to you advise you to deal in it; if it be not, I will mould it in the best manner and help it forward. The stay is upon the search of the clerk of the parliament, who is out of town; but we have

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resolved. Neither can we but see in this, as in a glass, the like event to follow in the rest upon like reason. For the inferior officers in every kind, who are best able for skill to propound the retrenchments, will, out of interest or fearfulness, make dainty to do service; and that which is done with an ill-will will never be well done. Again, to make it the act of the whole table, for the particular propositions and reckonings, will be too tedious for you, and will draw the business itself into length; and to make any particular committees of yourselves, were to impose that upon a few which requireth to be carried indifferently as the act of you all. For since the great officers themselves think it too heavy for them, as our state now is, to deal in it, without bringing it to the table, with much more reason may any particular persons of you be loath to meddle in it, but at the board. In all which respects we have thought fit, (neither do we see any other way) that you send unto us the names of the officers of our Exchequer and our Custom House, and auditors out of which we will make choice of some few, best qualified to be subcommittees, for the better ease and the speeding of the business by their continual travails and meetings: whose part and employment we incline to be to attend the principal officers in their several charges, and join themselves to some of the inferior officers, and so take upon them the mechanic and laborious part of every business, thereby to facilitate and prepare it for your consultations, according to the directions and instructions they shall receive from you from time to time.

already found, that the last grievance in 7^mo^ is not the same with this suit; but we doubt yet of another in 3^o^.

For the business of Mr. Leviston, for your lordship's sake (who I perceive keeps your noble course with me, in acquainting me with these things) I shall apply myself unto you, though in my nature I do desire that those that serve in the court where I sit, though they be not in places of my gift, and so concerns not me nor my place in profit; yet I wish, I say, I might leave them in as good case as I find them. And this suit concerneth the main profit of the Six Clerks, who though they be of the Master of the Rolls his gift, yet they serve in my court. But my greatest doubt is that the grant cannot be good in law; and that it is not like those other presidents, whereof I have received a note. For the difference is, where things have been written by all the clerks indifferently and loosely, (in which case the king may draw them into an office) and where they have appertained to one especial office; in which case the king can no more take away the profits of a man's office than he can the profits of his land. Therefore I think your lordship may do well to write to Mr. Solicitor and Serjeant Finch, or some other lawyers that you trust, or such as Mr. Leviston trusteth, being persons of account, to inform you of the point in law before you proceed any further: for without that all is in vain.

For the business of Hawkyns, touching the Register for the Commission of Bankrupts, I am not yet satisfied, likewise for the law, nor for the conveniency, but I rather incline to think it may pass; and I have set it in a course by which I may be throughly informed.

For Sir Rowland Egerton's cause, and his lady's, the parties have submitted themselves unto me, and are content to do it by bond, and therefore I will undoubtedly make an end of it according to justice and conscience.

For Sir Gilbert Houghton's business I am in very good hope to effect your lordship's desire for his good.

For Moor's business, concerning the printing of books, after hearing all parties, I have sealed his patent; but for his former patent of salt I dare not do it without acquainting the council therewith, which I am ready to do, if he require that course to be taken.

If his majesty at any time ask touching the Lord Clifton's business, I pray your lordship represent to his majesty thus much, that whatsoever hath passed I thank God I neither fear him nor hate him; but I am wonderful careful

of the seat of justice, that they may still be well munited, being principal sinews of his majesty's authority. Therefore the course will be (as I am advised) that for this heinous misprision (that the party without all colour or shadow of cause should threaten the life of his judge, and of the highest judge of the kingdom next his majesty) he be first examined, and if he confess it, then an *ore tenus;* if he confess it not, then an information in the Star-chamber, and he to remain where he is till the hearing. But I do purposely forbear yet to have him examined till the decree or agreement between him and my Lord Aubigny (which is now ready) be perfected, lest it should seem an oppression by the terror of the one to beat him down in the other. Thus I ever rest

Your Lordship's true Friend and devoted Servant,

York House,
Jan. 25th, 1617.

FR. BACON, Canc.

I pray your lordship to pardon me if, in respect of a little watering in one of mine eyes, I have written this letter, being long and private business, in my Secretary's hand.

To the King.

It may please your most Excellent Majesty,

Finding as well by your majesty's dispatches and directions to your council, as now by speech with Mr. Secretary Laque, that your majesty is content to be troubled with business of sundry natures, I thought good, according to the duty of my place and the necessity of the occasion, to put your majesty in mind, that on this day sennight, being Friday in the morning, I am, according to custom, to give a charge and admonition to the judges and justices of peace now before the circuits, wherein I am humbly to crave your majesty's pleasure and directions.

I have for your majesty's better ease set down the heads, which by the prescript of your book, and out of the consideration of the present times, I have thought fittest to be remembered. I have also sent your majesty the last account of the judges' circuits, not to trouble you with the reading of them all; but to the end, that if upon my memorial, or otherwise out of your majesty's own memory, which is above memorials, you should have occasion to resort to those accounts, the papers may be by you.

The point of greatest weight in my opinion is the carrying of a balanced hand at this time in the matter of recusants,

in regard of the treaty with Spain. For it were good in respect of your people, that there were no note made, that the string is relaxed, and in respect of the treaty, that it is not strained: and therefore that the proceeding in those causes be rather diligent than severe.

I am wonderful glad to hear that this extremity of weather, which I think the Muscovite hath brought with him, hath not touched your majesty, whose health and ease is far dearer to me than my life with all the appurtenances. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Majesty's most faithful and most obliged Servant,

This Friday morning, the sixth of February, 1617.

FR. BACON, Canc.

Your majesty will be pleased your answer be with me on Thursday at noon, or soon after it.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer hath signified to me this day, that yesterday his majesty called him to his coach and said to him, that one that had used ill speech of me should be called before me and make his submission to me, and thereupon be called before the council and receive a sharp reprehension, and so be enlarged. And Mr. Chancellor could not tell me who the person was, but after, by some letter he received from my Lord Clifton, and speech with a man of his, he perceived it was he.

I pray your lordship in humbleness to let his majesty know that I little fear the Lord Clifton, but I much fear the example, that it will animate ruffians and *rodomonti* extremely against the seats of justice, (which are his majesty's own seats) yea, and against all authority and greatness, if this pass without public censure and example, it having gone already so far as that the person of a baron hath been committed to the Tower. The punishment it may please his majesty to remit, and I shall not formally but heartily intercede for him, but an example (setting myself aside) I wish for terror of persons that may be more dangerous than he, towards the least judge of the kingdom.

Therefore it may please his majesty to speak of it with myself and my lords when he cometh next; and in the mean time I will command from his majesty, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Attorney, who were appointed by the table to examine him, to stay. God ever prosper you.

Your Lordship's true Friend and devoted Servant,

March 17, 1617. FR. BACON, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I pray your lordship to signify to his majesty that I thought it my duty to stay at the seal, a book of Sir Francis Steward's, and Sir James Averlony, &c. of 200*l.* land in charge in fee simple: my reasons.

First, It is a perpetuity and so much rent in diminution of revenue certain.

Secondly, The warrant (as is acknowledged) came only from my Lord of Suffolk, and not from Mr. Chancellor. And yet my lord was wont to boast, that since he was treasurer, all commissions and contracts for sale of the king's land were broken off and ceased.

Thirdly, The rate of the monies paid by the gentlemen amounteth but to thirteen years' purchase, which is a plain gift of a good proportion of value.

If his majesty, now informed, iterate his mandate, it is done, and I excused; but I could wish his majesty would refer it to the commissioners of the treasury how the gentlemen may be otherwise satisfied.

I received yesternight a brave account of the commission of the wards in Ireland, which this one year is advanced from two hundred pounds per annum to four thousand pounds, which is twenty fold multiplied. This I write for two reasons. First, Because I glory in it, because it was my work wholly: next, because his majesty may take occasion by this to look better to the improvement of his wards in England in due time. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged
Friend and faithful Servant,
Fr. Verulam, Canc.

York House,
July 27, 1618.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good lord,

I am very glad to hear of the honour his majesty intendeth to my noble lady, your lordship's mother. This, amongst many other things, sheweth in your lordship good nature, which is the root of all virtues, next religion. Besides, it doth sort well in states, when place and power do meet, and stand not too far at distance.

For the passing of it by direction without bill signed, it cannot be in law. So is Mr. Attorney's opinion, and so is mine; and therefore there is presently a bill sent with an indorsement of passing it by immediate warrant, and this antedate.

For the antedate, I must present his majesty with my caution and with my obedience.

For the statute tieth me from antedates; and indeed the mischief is infinite: for by that means the king may grant any land, &c. and take it away a month hence, and grant it another by an *antedate*. And surely were it land or the like I would not say *absit*, or your majesty cannot do it for the world; or your majesty is sworn, and I am sworn; or such brave phrases: but surely (I say) I would in humbleness represent it to his majesty.

But the case of honour differeth: for therein his majesty's prerogative and declaration is absolute; and he may make him that is last to be first. And, therefore, upon his majesty's signification of his pleasure upon the indorsement of the bill signed, I take it I may lawfully do it.

I am here rejoicing with my neighbours, the townsmen of St. Albans, for this happy day, the 5th of August, 1618.

Your Lordship's most obliged
Friend and faithful Servant,
Gorhambury. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I thank your lordship for your last loving letter. I now write to give the king an account of a patent I have stayed at the seal. It is of licence to give in *mortmain* eight hundred pounds land, though it be in tenure in chief to Allen, that was the player, for an hospital.

I like well that Allen playeth the last act of his life so well; but if his majesty give way thus to amortize his tenures, his courts of wards will decay, which I had well hoped should improve.

But that which moved me chiefly is, that his majesty now lately did absolutely deny Sir Henry Savile for two hundred pounds, and Sir Edwin Sandys for one hundred pounds, to the perpetuating of two lectures, the one in Oxford, the other in Cambridge, foundations of singular honour to his majesty, (the best learned of kings) and of which there is great want; whereas hospitals abound, and beggars abound never a whit the less.

If his majesty do like to pass the book at all; yet if he would be pleased to abridge the eight hundred pounds to five hundred pounds, and then give way to the other two books for the University, it were a princely work. And I would make an humble suit to the king, and desire your

lordship to join in it, that it might be so. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged
Friend and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

York House, this 18th of August, 1618.

I have written to my Lord Chamberlain, being Chancellor of Oxford, to help in the business.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Looking for matter of service, I have found out a suit for myself, and it is proper for me more than all men, because it is within the accompt of the hamper. But I have made a law to myself, that I will never beg any thing, which shall not bring a gain to the king; therefore my suit is to farm the profits of the alienations, yielding a thousand pounds a year more to the king than hath been yielded *communibus annis*, by a medium of seven years. If the king be pleased to grant me this, it will a little warm the honour he hath given me; and I shall have a new occasion to be as I ever have been, and shall be

Your Lordship's obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

York House, October 9th, 1618.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

This morning Mr. Attorney came to me and desired of me many writs of *ne exeat regnum* against most of the Dutch merchants, and withal let me understand that there was a discovery of an infinite transportation of gold and silver out of this realm, by the said Dutch merchants, amounting to millions; and that Sir John Britten had made a book thereof, and presented the same to his majesty; and further that his majesty had directed him to prosecute the same; and had also given Sir Thomas Vavisor the forfeiture of such ten of them as he should choose.

Hereupon I thought it my duty, as in a matter of great weight, to signify to his majesty, by your lordship, what I conceive.

The discovery I think very happy: for if it be true, it will be a great benefit to his majesty; it will also content his people much, and it will demonstrate also that Scotland is not the leech (as some discoursers say) but the Nether-

landers that suck the realm of treasure: so that the thing is very good.

But two things I must represent to his majesty: the first, that if I stay merchants from their trading by this writ, I must do it either *ex officio*, or by special warrant from his majesty.

If *ex officio*, then I must have more than a bare surmise to grant the writ upon, so as I must be acquainted with the grounds, or at least appearance of proofs. If by special warrant, then I desire to receive the same. The other is that I humbly beseech his majesty that these royal boughs of forfeiture may not be vintaged, or cropped by private suitors (considering his majesty's state as it is), but that Sir Thomas Vivasor or Sir John Brittain may have a bountiful and gracious reward of their discovery, but not the prime, or without stint.

In sum, I would wish his majesty to refer the whole business and carriage of the same for his honour and profit to the commissioners of treasure, or because it is a legal forfeiture to myself, Mr. Chancellor, Sir Edward Coke, and my Lord Chief Justice of England, and by us his majesty shall be assured to know the best course for his justice, honour, and profit, and that he may dispose what bounty he will. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

York House,
October 19th, 1618.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

This long book which I send for his majesty's signature was upon a conference and consult yesternight (at which time I was assisted by the two chief justices, and attended by the surveyor, attorney, and receiver of the court of wards Fleetwood) framed and allowed.

It is long, because we all thought fit not to piece new instructions with old instructions, but to reduce both old and new into one body of instructions. I do not see that of the articles, which are many, any could have been spared. They are plain, but they have a good property, that they will take fast hold. I may not trouble his majesty with choosing some of them in particular, when all are good, only I think fit to let his majesty know of one, which is, that according to his own directions, the oath of making no private unlawful profit is now as well translated to the

master and officers that may take, as to the parties and suitors that may give.

It little becometh me to possess his majesty that this will be to his majesty's benefit ten thousands yearly, or fifteen thousands, or twenty thousands: for these rattles are fitter for mountebanks of service than grave counsellors. But my advices (as far as I am able to discern) tend or extend but to thus much: this is his majesty's surest and easiest way for his most good.

Sir Miles Fleetwood, who both now and heretofore, hath done very good service in this, meriteth to be particularly from your lordship encouraged: which I beseech your lordship not to forget. God ever prosper you.

Your Lordship's most faithful
bounden Friend and Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

This 4th of December, 1618.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I send his majesty a volume of my lord of Bangor's and my lord Sheffield, whereof I spake when I left his majesty at Theobald's. His majesty may be pleased at his own good time and pleasure to cast his eye upon it. I purpose at my coming to London to confer with the chief justice as his majesty appointed; and to put the business of the pursevants in a way, which I think will be best by a commission of Oyer and Terminer; for the Star Chamber (without confession) is long seas. I should advise that this point of the pursuivants were not single, but that it be coupled in the commission with the offences of keepers of prisons hereabouts, it hath a great affinity; for pursuivants are but ambulatory keepers, and it works upon the same party (of the papists). And it is that wherein many of his majesty's and the council's severe charges have been hitherto unfruitful: and it doth a great deal of mischief. I have some other reasons for it. But of this it will be fittest to advertise more particularly what I have resolved of on advice, upon conference with the chief justice. I am wonderful glad to hear of the king's good health. God preserve his majesty and your lordship. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged
Friend and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Gorhambury, this last of July, 1619.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I think it my duty to let his majesty know what I find in this cause of the *ore tenus:* for as his majesty hath good experience, that when his business comes upon the stage, I carry it with strength and resolution, so in the proceedings I love to be wary and considerate.

I wrote to your lordship by my last, that I hoped by the care I had taken the business would go well, but without that care I was sure it would not go well: this I meant because I had had conference with the two chief justices, Sir Edward Cooke being present, and handled the matter so, that not without much ado, I left both the chief justices firm to the cause and satisfied.

But calling to mind that in the main business, notwithstanding I and the chief justices went one way, yet the day was not good (and I should be loath to see more of such days), I am not without some apprehension; for though we have Sir Edward Cooke earnest and forward, insomuch as he advised the *ore tenus,* before I knew it at Wansted, and now bound the Dutchmen over to the Star Chamber before I was made privy; unto both which proceedings I did nevertheless give approbation: yet if there should be either the major part of the votes the other way, or any main distraction, though we bear it through, I should think it a matter full of inconvenience: but that which gives me most to think is the carriage of Mr. Attorney, which sorteth neither with the business nor with himself; for as I hear from divers, and partly perceive, he is fallen from earnest to be cool and faint; which weakness, if it should make the like alteration at the bar, it might overthrow the cause; all the remedy which is in my power is by the advice of the judges to draw some other of the learned counsel to his help, which he I know is unwilling with, but that is all one.

This I thought it necessary to write, lest the king should think me asleep, and because I know that his majesty's judgment is far better than mine. But I for my part mean to go on roundly; and so I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

October 9th, 1619.

If the king in his great wisdom should any ways incline to have the *ore tenus* put off, then the way were to command that the matter of the *ore tenus* should be given in

evidence by way of aggravation in the main cause. And it is true, that if this precursory matter goeth well, it giveth great entrance into the main cause; if ill, contrariwise, it will do hurt and disadvantage to the main.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

These things which I write now and heretofore in this cause, I do not write so as any can take knowledge that I write, but I dispatch things *ex officio* here, and yet think it fit inwardly to advertise the king what doth occur. And I do assure your lordship, that if I did serve any king whom I did not think far away wiser than myself, I would not write in the midst of business, but go on of myself.

This morning, notwithstanding my speech yesterday with the duke, he delivered this letter inclosed, and I having cleared the room of all save the court and learned counsel (whom I required to stay) the letter was read a little before our hour of sitting. When it was read, Mr. Attorney began to move that my lord should not acknowledge his offences as he conceived he had committed them, but as they were charged; and some of the lords speaking to that point, I thought fit to interrupt and divert that kind of question; and said, before we considered of the extent of my lord's submission we were first to consider of the extent of our own duty and power; for that I conceived it was neither fit for us to stay proceeding, nor to move his majesty in that which was before us in course of justice; unto which (being once propounded by me) all the lords and the rest *unâ voce* assented. I would not so much as ask the question whether, though we proceeded, I should send the letter to his majesty, because I would not straiten his majesty in any thing.

The evidence went well (I will not say I sometimes helped it as far as was fit for a judge), and at the arising of the court I moved their lords openly, whether they would not continue this cause from day to day till it were ended; which they thought not fit in regard of the general justice, which would be delayed in all courts: yet afterwards within I prevailed so far, as we have appointed to sit Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, and to sit by eight of the clock, and so to dispatch it before the king come, if we can. God preserve and prosper you. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,
Fr. Verulam, Canc.

This 22d of October, Friday, at 4 of the clock, 1619.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I do not love to interlope by writing in the midst of business; but because his majesty commanded me to acquaint him with any occurrence which might cross the way, I have thought fit to let his majesty know what hath passed this day.

This day (which was the day set down) the great cause of the Dutchmen was entered into. The pleading being opened, and the case stated by the counsel, the counsel of the defendants made a motion to have certain examinations taken concerning the old defendants suppressed, because they were taken since the last hearing.

I set the business in a good way, and shewed they were but supplemental, and that at the last hearing there were some things extrajudicial alleged *ad infimandum conscientiam judicis*, and therefore there was more reason these should be used *ad informandum conscientiam judicis*, and that there was order for it. The order was read, and approved both by the court and the defendant's own counsel; but it was alleged, that the order was not entered time enough, whereby the defendants might likewise examine, wherein certainly there was some slip or forgetfulness in Mr. Attorney or Britten that followed it, which I wish had been otherwise, yet it went fair out of the court.

But after dinner my lords were troubled with it, and after much dispute, we have agreed to confer silently, and *sine strepitu* to-morrow and set all straight, calling the judges and the learned counsel, with whom I have spoken this evening I think to good purpose. For in good faith I am fain to be *omnibus omnia* as St. Paul saith, to set forward his majesty's service.

I discern a kind of inclination to take hold of all accidents to put off the cause, whereunto neither I shall give way, nor I hope his majesty; to-morrow if cause be I shall write more, but I hope all shall be well. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged
Friend and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Friday night,
19th November, 1619.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I have conferred with Sir Lyonel Cranfield, according to his majesty's special commandment, touching two points of value, for the advancement (the one present, the other speedy) of his majesty's revenue.

The first is of the corans, to restore the imposition of five shillings and sixpence, laid in the late queen's time, and drawn down unduly, to serve private turns, to three shillings and four pence, which will amount to above three thousand pounds yearly increase.

The other is of the tobacco, for which there is offered two thousand pounds increase yearly, to begin at Michaelmas next, as it now is, and three thousand pounds increase if the plantations of tobacco here within land be restrained.

I approve, in mine own judgment, both propositions, with these cautions: That for the first, the farmers of the corans do, by instrument under their seal, relinquish to the king all their claim thereto, by any general words of their patent. And for the second, that the bargain be concluded and made before the proclamation go forth; wherein, perhaps, there will occur some doubt in law, because it restraineth the subject in the employment of his freehold at his liberty. But being so many ways *pro bono publico* I think it good enough.

His majesty may therefore be pleased to write his letter to the commissioners of the treasury, signifying his majesty's pleasure directly in both points, to have them done, and leaving to us the consideration *de modo*. God ever prosper you. I rest your Lordship's most obliged Friend

November 22, 1619. and faithful Servant,

FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the King.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

According to your commandment, we met together yesterday at Whitehall, and there consulted what course were fittest to be taken now in this business of your majesty's attorney general, both for the satisfying your own honour, as also for calling in the late exorbitant charter of the city; which are the two ends, as we conceive, that your majesty proposed unto yourself.

To effect both which, we humbly presume to present thus much unto your majesty as our opinion. First, That an information be put into the Star-chamber, as we formerly advised, against your attorney as delinquent, against the mayor, &c. as interested, and against the recorder also mixedly with some touch of charge.

That the submission by letter offered by Mr. Attorney is no way satisfactory for your majesty's honour, but is to be of record by way of answer, and deduced to more particulars.

That any submission or surrender of the patents by the

city should be also of record in their answer; and no other can be received with your majesty's honour, but by answer in court: the same to come merely of themselves, without any motion on your majesty's behalf, directly or indirectly; which being done in this form, it will be afterwards in your majesty's choice and pleasure to use mercy, and to suspend any farther proceedings against your attorney.

That it is of necessity, as well for the putting in of this information, as for your majesty's other urgent and public services in that and other courts, to have a sequestration presently of your attorney, and a provisional commission to some other, during your majesty's pleasure, to execute that charge: for both which instruments legal shall be provided as soon as your majesty's pleasure is known. To which we humbly and dutifully submit our advice and opinion, beseeching God to bless your majesty's sacred person with continuance and increase of much health and happiness. Wherewith, humbly kissing your royal hands, we rest

Your Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects and Servants,

At your majesty's Palace at Whitehall, June 16, 1620.

FR. VERULAM, Canc. T. ARUNDEL,
ROBERT NAUNTON, GEO. CALVERT,
JUL. CÆSAR, EDW. COKE.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I have lately certified his majesty on the behalf of Sir George Chaworth, by Secretary Calvert, touching the place of a remembrancer in the Chancery for setting down of causes. And because the gentleman telleth me the king thought my certificate a little doubtful, he desired me to write to your lordship, touching my approbation more plainly. It is true that I conceive it to be a good business, and will be for the service of the court and ease of the subject; I will look it shall be accompanied with good cautions.

We ruffle over business here in council apace, and I think to reasonable good purpose. By my next I will write of some fit particulars. I ever rest

Your most obliged Friend and faithful Servant,

21 June, 1620. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Yesterday I called unto us the two chief justices and Serjeant Crew about the parliament business. To call more judges I thought not good, it would be little to assistance,

much to secrecy: the distribution of the business we made was into four parts.

First, The perusing of the former grievance, and of things of like nature which have come in since.

Secondly, The consideration of a proclamation with the clauses thereof, especially touching elections, which clauses nevertheless we are of opinion should be rather monitory than exclusive.

Thirdly, The inclusive: that is to say, what persons were fit to be of the house, tending to make a sufficient and well composed house of the ablest men of the kingdom, fit to be advised with *circa ardua regni*, as the stile of the writs goeth, according to the pure and true institution of a parliament; and of the means to place such persons without novelty or much observation. For this purpose we made some lists of names of the prime counsellors, and principal statesmen or courtiers, of the gravest or wisest lawyers, of the most respected and best tempered knights and gentlemen of the county. And here *obiter* we did not forget to consider who were the *boutefeus* of the last session, how many of them are dead, how many reduced, and how many remain, and what was fit to be done concerning them.

Fourthly, The having ready of some commonwealth bills that may add respect and acknowledgment of the king's care; not wooing bills to make the king and his graces cheap, but good matter to set them on work, that an empty stomach do not feed upon humour.

Of these four points, that which concerneth persons is not so fit to be communicated with the council table, but to be kept within fewer hands. The other three may when they are ripe.

Meanwhile I thought good to give his majesty an account what is done; and in doing, humbly craving his direction if any thing be to be altered or added, though it may be ourselves shall have second thoughts, this being but the result of our first meeting.

The state of his majesty's treasure still maketh me sad; and I am sorry I was not at Theobald's to report it, or that it was not done by my fellows: it is most necessarily we do it faithfully and freely. For to flatter in this were to betray his majesty with a kiss. I humbly pray his majesty to think of my former counsel, and this I will promise that whomsoever his majesty shall make treasurer, if his majesty shall direct him to have relation to my advice, I will continue the same care and advice I do now, and much more cheer-

fully when I shall perceive that my propositions shall not be *literæ scriptæ in glacie.*

Meanwhile to keep the commission in doing of somewhat worth the doing, it may please his majesty to take knowledge that, upon our report, we had agreed to make remonstrance to him, that we thought Ireland might (if his majesty leave it to our care) be brought by divers good expedients to bear their own charge; and therefore his majesty may be pleased, by his commandment, to set us in hand with it out of hand. God ever prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged
October 7, 1620. Friend and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To Sir Henry Wotton.

My very good Cousin,

The letter which I received from your lordship upon your going to sea was more than a compensation for any former omission; and I shall be very glad to entertain a correspondence with you in both kinds which you write of: for the latter, I am now ready for you, having sent you some ore of that mine. I thank you for your favours to Mr. Meautys, and I pray continue the same. So wishing you out of your honourable exile, and placed in a better orb, I rest

Your Lordship's affectionate Kinsman
York House, and assured Friend.
October 20, 1620. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I send his majesty a form of a proclamation* for the parliament, which I thought fit to offer first to his majesty's perusal before I acquainted the counsel.

For that part which concerneth the foreign business, his

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* Draught of a proclamation for a parliament.

As in our princely judgment, we hold nothing more worthy of a christian monarch than the conservation of peace at home and abroad; whereby effusion of christian blood and other calamities of war are avoided; trade is kept open, laws and justice retain their due vigour and play; arts and sciences flourish, subjects are less burthened with taxes and tallages, and infinite other benefits redound to the state of a common-weal: so in our practice, we suppose there hath been seldom any king that hath given more express testimonies and real pledges of this desire to have peace conserved than we have done in the whole course of our regiment.

For neither have we, for that which concerns ourselves, been ready to apprehend or embrace any occasions or opportunities of making war upon our neighbours; neither have we omitted, for that which may concern the states abroad,

majesty will graciously consider how easy it is for me to mistake, or not to attain, which his majesty in his wisdom will pardon, correct, and direct.

For that part touching the elections, I have communicated it with my colleagues, Sir Edward Coke, the two chief

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any good office or royal endeavour, for the quenching of the sparks of troubles and discords in foreign parts. Wherein, as we have been always ready and willing, so we wish that we had been always as happy and prevailing in our advices and counsels that tended to that end.

And yet do we not forget that God hath put into our hands a sceptre over populous and warlike nations, which might have moved us to second the affection and disposition of our people, and to have wrought upon it, for our own ambition, if we had been so minded. But it hath sufficed unto us to seek a true and not swelling greatness in the plantations and improvements of such part of our dominions as have in former times been more desolate or uncivil, and in the maintaining of all our loving subjects in general, in tranquillity and security, and the other conditions of good government and happy times. But amongst other demonstrations of our constant purpose and provident care to maintain peace, there was never such a trial, nor so apparent to the world (as in a theatre) as our persisting in the same resolution, since the time that our dear son-in-law was elected and accepted king of Bohemia; by how much the motives tending to shake and assail our said resolution were the more forcible. For neither did the glory of having our dearest daughter and son-in-law to wear a crown, nor the extreme alacrity of our people devoted to that cause, nor the representations, which might be set before us of dangers, (if we should suffer a party in Christendom, held commonly adverse and ill affected to our state and government, to gather further reputation and strength) transport us to enter into an auxiliary war in prosecution of that quarrel: but contrariwise finding the justice of the cause not so clear as that we could be presently therein satisfied, and weighing with ourselves likewise, that if the kingdom of Bohemia had continued in the house of Austria; yet, nevertheless, the balance of Christendom had stood in no other sort than it had done for many years before without increase of party; and chiefly fearing that the wars in those parts of Germany, which have been hitherto the bulwark of Christendom against the approaches of the Turk might, by the intestine dissensions, allure and let in the common enemy, we did abstain to declare, or engage ourselves in that war, and were contented only to give permission to the ambassador of our son-in-law, to draw some voluntary helps of men and money from our subjects, being a matter that violated no treaty, and could not be denied in case of so near a conjunction.

But, while we contained ourselves in this moderation, we find the event of war hath much altered the case, by the late invasion of the Palatinate, whereby (howsoever under the pretence of a diversion) we find our son, in fact, expulsed in part, and in danger to be totally dispossessed of his ancient inheritance and patrimony, so long continued in that noble line; whereof we cannot but highly resent, if it should be alienated and ravished from him in our times, and to the prejudice of our grandchildren and line royal. Neither can we think it safe, for us in reason of state, that the county Palatine, carrying with itself an electorate, and having been so long in the hands of princes of our religion, and no way depending upon the house of Austria, should now become at the disposing of that house; being a matter, that indeed might alter the balance of Christendom importantly, to the weakening of our state, and the estate of our best friends and confederates.

Wherefore, finding a concurrence of reasons and respects of religion, nature, honour, and estate, all of them inducing us in no wise to endure so great an alteration, we are resolved to employ the uttermost of our forces and means to recover and resettle the said Palatinate to our son and our descendants, purposing nevertheless, according to our former inclination so well grounded, not altogether

justices, and Serjeant Crew, who approve it well; and we are all of opinion, that it is not good to have it more peremptory, more particular, nor more sharp.

We are thinking of some commonwealth laws, amongst which I would have one special for the maintenance of the navy, as well to give occasion to publish (to his majesty's

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to intermit (if the occasions give us leave) the treaties of peace and accord, which we have already begun, and whereof the coming on of the winter, and the counterpoise of the actions of war, hitherto may give us as yet some appearance of hope.

But, forasmuch as it were great improvidence to depend upon the success of such treaties, and therefore good policy requires that we should be prepared for a war, which we intend for the recovery and assuring of the said palatinate, with the dependencies (a design of no small charge and difficulty, the strength and conjunctures of the adverse party considered), we have thought good to take into our princely and serious consideration (and that with speed) all things that may have relation to such a designment; amongst which we hold nothing more necessary than to confer and advise with the common council of our kingdom, upon this so important a subject.

For although the making of war or peace be a secret of empire, and a thing properly belonging to our high prerogative royal and imperial power; yet nevertheless, in causes of that nature, which we shall think fit not to reserve, but to communicate, we shall ever think ourselves much assisted and strengthened by the faithful advice and general assent of our loving subjects.

Moreover, no man is so ignorant as to expect that we should be any ways able (monies being the sinews of war) to enter into the list against so great potentates, without some large and bountiful help of treasure from our people, as well towards the maintenance of the war as towards the relief of our crown and estate. And this the rather, for that we have now, by the space of full ten years (a thing unheard of in late times) subsisted by our own means, without being chargeable to our people, otherwise than by some voluntary gifts of some particulars; which, though in total amounting to no great matter, we thankfully acknowledge at their hands: but as, while the affairs abroad were in greater calm, we did content ourselves to recover our wants by provident retrenchment of charge, and honourable improvement of our own, thinking to wear them out without troubling our people; so in such a state of Christendom, as seemeth now to hang over our heads, we durst no longer rely upon those slow remedies, but thought necessary (according to the ancient course of our progenitors) to resort to the good affections and aids of our loving subjects.

Upon these considerations, and for that also in respect of so long intermission of a parliament, the times may have introduced some things fit to be reformed, either by new laws, or by the moderate desires of our loving subjects, dutifully intimated unto us (wherein we shall ever be no less ready to give them all gracious satisfaction than their own hearts can desire), we have resolved, by the advice of our privy council, to hold a parliament at our city of Westminster.

And because, as well this great cause (there to be handled amongst the rest, and to be weighed by the beam of the kingdom) as also the true and ancient institution of parliament, do require the lower house (at this time if ever) to be compounded of the gravest, ablest, and worthiest members that may be found: we do hereby, out of the care of the common good, wherein themselves are participant (without all prejudice to the freedom of elections) admonish all our loving subjects (that have votes in the elections of knights and burgesses) of these few points following.

First, That they cast their eyes upon the worthiest men of all sorts, knights and gentlemen, that are lights and guides in their countries, experienced parliament men, wise and discreet statesmen, that have been practised in public affairs, whether at home or abroad; grave and eminent lawyers, substantial

honour) what hath been already done; as, to speak plainly, to do your lordship's honour in the second place; and besides, it is agreeable to the times. God ever prosper you.

Your Lordship's obliged Friend and faithful Servant,

October 18, 1620. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Your lordship will pardon me if, partly in the freedom of adversity, and partly of former friendship (the sparks whereof cannot but continue), I open myself to your lordship and desire also your lordship to open yourself to me. The two last acts which you did for me, in procuring the releasement of my fine, and my *quietus est*, I acknowledge were effects, real and material, of your love and favour, which, as to my knowledge, it never failed me in my prosperity; so in these two things it seems not to have turned with the wheel. But the extent of these two favours is not much more than to keep me from persecution; for any thing further which might tend to my comfort and assistance, as I cannot say to myself that your lordship hath forsaken me, so I see not the effects of your undeserved yea undesired professions and promises, which, being made to a person in affliction, hath the nature after a sort of vows. But that which most of all makes me doubt of a change, or cooling in your lordship's affection towards me, is, that being twice now at London, your lordship did not vouchsafe to see me, though by messages you gave me hope thereof, and the latter time I had begged it of your lordship.

The cause of change may either be in myself or your lordship. I ought first to examine myself, which I have done; and God is my witness, I find all well, and that I

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citizens and burgesses, and generally such as are interested and have portion in the estate.

Secondly, That they make choice of such as are well affected in religion, without declining either on the one hand to blindness and superstition, or on the other hand to schism or turbulent disposition.

Thirdly and lastly, That they be truly sensible, not to disvalue or disparage the house with bankrupts and necessitous persons, that may desire long parliaments only for protection; lawyers of mean account and estimation; young men that are not ripe for grave consultations; mean dependants upon great persons, that may be thought to have their voices under command, and such like obscure and inferior persons: so that to conclude, we may have the comfort to see before us the very face of a sufficient and well composed house, such as may be worthy to be a representative of the third estate of our kingdom, fit to nourish a loving and comfortable meeting between us and our people, and fit to be a noble instrument, under the blessing of Almighty God, and our princely care and power, and with the loving conjunction of our prelates and peers, for the settling of so great affairs, as are before expressed.

have approved myself to your lordship a true friend, both in the watery trial of prosperity, and in the fiery trial of adversity. If your lordship take any insatisfaction touching the house, I humbly pray you, think better of it; for that motion to me was a second sentence more grievous than the first, as things then stood and do yet stand: for it sentenced me to have lost both in mine own opinion, and much more in the opinion of others, that which was saved to me, almost only, in the former sentence, and which was more dear to me than all that which was taken from me, which is your lordship's love and favour: for, had it not been for that bitter circumstance, your lordship knows that you might have commanded my life and all that is mine. But surely it could not be that, nor any thing in me, which wrought the change. It is likely, on the other part, that though your lordship in your nature I know to be generous and constant, yet I being now become out of sight, and out of use, your lordship having a flood of new friends, and your ears possessed perhaps by such as would not leave room for an old, your lordship may, even by course of the world and the overbearing of others, be turned from me, and it were almost a miracle if it should be otherwise. But yet, because your lordship may still have so heroical a spirit as to stand out all these violent assaults, which might have alienated you from your friend, my humble suit to your lordship is, that remembering your former friendship, which began with your beginning, and since that time hath never failed on my part, your lordship would deal clearly with me, and let me know whether I continue in your favour or no; and whether in those poor requests, which I may yet make to his majesty (whose true servant I ever was and am) for the tempering of my misery, I may presume to use your lordship's favour and help as I have done; for otherwise it were a kind of stupidness in me, and a great trouble also to your lordship, for me not to discern the change, for your lordship to have an importuner, instead of a friend and a suitor. Though howsoever, if your lordship should never think of me more, yet in respect of your former favours, which cannot altogether be made void, I must remain, &c.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Though I returned an answer to your lordship's last honourable and kind letter, by the same way by which I

received it, yet I humbly pray your lordship to give me leave to add these few lines. My lord, as God above is my witness, that I ever have loved and honoured your lordship as much, I think, as any son of Adam can love or honour any thing that is a subject; and do still continue in as hearty and strong wishes of felicity to be heaped and fixed upon you as ever: so yet I protest, that at this time, as low as I am, I had rather sojourn the rest of my life in a college in Cambridge, than recover a good fortune by any other than yourself. But now, to recover yourself to me (if I have you not already) or to ease your lordship in any business of mine, wherein your lordship would not so fully appear, or to be made partaker of your favours in the way that you like best, I would use any man who were your lordship's friend. Secondly, If in any thing of my former letters I have given your lordship any distaste, either by the style of them or any particular passage in them, I humbly pray your lordship's benign construction and pardon. I confess it is my fault, though yet it be some happiness to me withal, that I many times forget my adversity: but I shall never forget to be, &c.

To the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

My very good Lord,

I was likely to have had the fortune of Cajus Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of the Mountain Vesuvius. For I was also desirous to try an experiment or two, touching the conservation and induration of bodies. As for the experiment itself, it succeeded excellently well; but in the journey (between London and Highgate) I was taken with such a fit of casting, as I knew not whether it were the stone, or some surfeit, or cold, or indeed a touch of them all three. But when I came to your lordship's house, I was not able to go back, and therefore was forced to take up my lodging here, where your housekeeper is very careful and diligent about me, which I assure myself your lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed your lordship's house was happy to me; and I kiss your noble hands for the welcome which I am sure you give me to it, &c.

I know how unfit it is for me to write to your lordship with any other hand than my own; but by my troth, my fingers are so disjointed with this fit of sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a pen.

LETTERS FROM BIRCH.

Mr. Francis Bacon to Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.*

My Lord,

It is a great grief unto me, joined with marvel, that her majesty should retain a hard conceit of my speeches in parliament.† It might please her sacred majesty to think what my end should be in those speeches, if it were not duty, and duty alone. I am not so simple but I know the common beaten way to please. And whereas popularity hath been objected, I muse what care I should take to please many, that take a course of life to deal with few. On the other side, her majesty's grace and particular favour towards me hath been such, as I esteem no worldly thing above the comfort to enjoy it, except it be the conscience to deserve it. But if the not seconding of some particular person's opinion shall be presumption, and to differ upon the manner shall be to impeach the end, it shall teach my devotion not to exceed wishes, and those in silence. Yet notwithstanding (to speak vainly as in grief) it may be her majesty hath discouraged as good a heart as ever looked toward her service, and as void of self-love. And so in more grief than I can well express, and much more than I can well dissemble, I leave your lordship, being as ever,

Your Lordship's intirely devoted, &c.

To Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.‡

It may please your Lordship,

I am to make humble complaint to your lordship of some hard dealing offered me by one Sympson, a goldsmith, a man noted much, as I have heard, for extremities and

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 286. No. 129. fol. 232.

† On Wednesday, the 7th of March, 1592-3, upon the three subsidies demanded of the house of commons; to which he assented, but not to the payment of them under six years, urging the necessities of the people, the danger of raising public discontentment, and the setting of an evil precedent against themselves and their posterity. See Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Journals, p. 493. He sat in that parliament, which met November 19, 1592, and was dissolved 10 April, 1593, as one of the knights of the shire for Middlesex.

‡ From the original in the Hatfield Collection of State Papers, communicated to me by the Rev. William Murdin, B. D. and intended by him for the public in a third volume of the collection of those papers, if his death had not prevented him from executing his design.

stoutness upon his purse; but yet I could scarcely have imagined he would have dealt either so dishonestly towards myself, or so contemptuously towards her majesty's service. For this Lombard (pardon me, I most humbly pray your lordship, if being admonished by the street he dwells in, I give him that name) having me in bond for three hundred pounds principal, and I having the last term confessed the action, and by his full and direct consent, respited the satisfaction till the beginning of this term to come, without ever giving me warning, either by letter or message, served an execution upon me, having trained me at such time as I came from the Tower, where Mr. Waad can witness, we attended a service of no mean importance;* neither would he so much as vouchsafe to come and speak with me to take any order in it, though I sent for him divers times, and his house was just by; handling it as upon a despite, being a man I never provoked with a cross word, no nor with many delays. He would have urged it to have had me in prison; which he had done, had not Sheriff More, to whom I sent, gently recommended me to a handsome house in Coleman Street, where I am. Now because he will not treat with me, I am inforced humbly to desire your lordship to send for him according to your place, to bring him to some reason; and this forthwith, because I continue here to my farther discredit and inconvenience, and

* It is not easy to determine what this service was; but it seems to relate to the examination of some prisoner; perhaps Edward Squire, executed in November, 1598, for poisoning the queen's saddle; or Valentine Thomas, who accused the King of Scots of practices against Queen Elizabeth [*Historical View*, p. 178.]; or one Stanley, concerning whom I shall insert here passages from two MS. letters of John Chamberlain, Esq., to his friend Dudley Carleton, Esq.; afterwards ambassador to Venice, the United Provinces, and France; these letters being part of a very large collection, from 1598 to 1625, which I transcribed from the originals. "One Stanley," says Mr. Chamberlain, in his letter dated at London, 3rd of October, 1598, "that came in sixteen days over land with letters out of Spain, is lately committed to the Tower. He was very earnest to have private conference with her majesty, pretending matter of great importance, which he would by no means utter to any body else." In another letter, dated 20th of November, 1598, Mr. Chamberlain observes, that on "the day that they looked for Stanley's arraignment, he came not himself, but sent his forerunner, one Squire, that had been an under purveyor of the stable, who being in Spain was dealt withal by one Walpole, a Jesuit, to poison the queen and the Earl of Essex; and accordingly came prepared into England, and went with the earl in his own ship the last journey, and poisoned the arms or handles of the chair he used to sit in, with a confection he had received of the Jesuit; as likewise he had done the pummel of the queen's saddle not past five days before his going to sea. But because nothing succeeded of it, the priest thinking he had either changed his purpose, or betrayed it, gave Stanley instructions to accuse him; thereby to get him more credit, and to be revenged of Squire for breaking promise. The fellow confessed the whole practice, and, as it seemed, died very penitent."

the trouble of the gentleman with whom I am. I have a hundred pounds lying by me, which he may have, and the rest upon some reasonable time and security, or if need be, the whole; but with my more trouble. As for the contempt he hath offered, in regard her majesty's service to my understanding, carrieth a privilege *eundo et redeundo* in meaner causes, much more in matters of this nature, especially in persons known to be qualified with that place and employment, which, though unworthy, I am vouchsafed, I inforce nothing, thinking I have done my part when I have made it known, and so leave it to your lordship's honourable consideration. And so with signification of my humble duty, &c.

To Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State.*

It may please your Honour,

I humbly pray you to understand how badly I have been used by the inclosed, being a copy of a letter of complaint thereof, which I have written to the lord keeper. How sensitive you are of wrongs offered to your blood in my particular I have had not long since experience. But herein I think your honour will be doubly sensitive, in tenderness also of the indignity to her majesty's service; for as for me, Mr. Sympson might have had me every day in London; and therefore to belay me while he knew I came from the Tower about her majesty's special service was to my understanding very bold. And two days before he brags he forbore me, because I dined with Sheriff More: so as with Mr. Sympson, examinations at the Tower are not so great a privilege, *eundo et redeundo*, as sheriff More's dinner. But this complaint I make in duty; and to that end have also informed my lord of Essex thereof; for otherwise his punishment will do me no good.

So with signification of my humble duty, I commend your honour to the divine preservation.

From Coleman Street, this 24th of September, 1598.

At your honourable command particularly, FR. BACON.

To Mr. Secretary Cecil.†

It may please your Honour,

Because we live in an age, where every man's imperfections are but another's fable; and that there fell out an accident in the Exchequer, which I know not how, nor how soon may be traduced, though I dare trust rumour in it, except it be malicious, or extreme partial; I am bold

* From the Hatfield Collection.

† From the Hatfield Collection.

now to possess your honour, as one that ever I found careful of my advancement, and yet more jealous of my wrongs, with the truth of that which passed; deferring my farther request, until I may attend your honour: and so I continue

Your Honour's very humble
and particularly bounden,
FR. BACON.

Gray's Inn, this
24th of April, 1601.

To Robert, Lord Cecil.*

It may please your good Lordship,

They say late thanks are ever best: but the reason was, I thought to have seen your lordship ere this; howsoever I shall never forget this your last favour amongst others; and it grieveth me not a little, that I find myself of no use to such an honourable and kind friend.

For that matter, I think I shall desire your assistance for the punishment of the contempt; not that I would use the privilege in future time, but because I would not have the dignity of the king's service prejudiced in my instance. But herein I will be ruled by your lordship.

It is fit likewise, though much against my mind, that I let your lordship know, that I shall not be able to pay the money within the time by your lordship undertaken, which was a fortnight. Nay, money I find so hard to come by at this time, as I thought to have become an humble suitor to your honour to have sustained me with your credit for the present from urgent debts, with taking up three hundred pounds till I can put away some land. But I am so forward with some sales, as this request I hope I may forbear.

For my estate (because your honour hath care of it) it is thus: I shall be able with selling the skirts of my living in Hertfordshire† to preserve the body, and to leave myself, being clearly out of debt, and having some money in my pocket, three hundred pounds land per ann. with a fair house, and the ground well timbered. This is now my labour.

For my purpose or course, I desire to meddle as little as I can in the king's causes, his majesty now abounding in council; and to follow my private thrift and practice, and to marry with some convenient advancement. For as for any ambition, I do assure your honour, mine is quenched. In the queen's, my excellent mistress's time, the *quorum* was small; her service was a kind of freehold, and it was a more solemn time. All those points agreed with my

* From the Hatfield Collection. † Gorhambury.

nature and judgment. My ambition now I shall only put upon my pen, whereby I shall be able to maintain memory and merit of the times succeeding.

Lastly, for this divulged and almost prostituted title of knighthood, I could without charge, by your honour's mean, be content to have it, both because of this late disgrace, and because I have three new knights in my mess in Gray's Inn commons; and because I have found out an alderman's daughter,* a handsome maiden to my liking. So as if your honour will find the time, I will come to the court from Gorhambury upon any warning.

How my sales go forward, your lordship shall in a few days hear; mean while, if you will not be pleased to take farther day with this lewd fellow, I hope your Lordship will not suffer him to take any part of the penalty, but principal, interest, and costs.

So I remain your Lordship's most bounden,

3d July, 1603. FR. BACON.

To Robert, Lord Cecil.

It may please your good Lordship,

In answer of your last letter, your money shall be ready before your day, principal, interest, and costs of suit. So the sheriff promised when I released errors; and a Jew takes no more. The rest cannot be forgotten; for I cannot forget your lordship's *dum memor ipse mei:* and if there have been *aliquid nimis,* it shall be amended. And, to be plain with your lordship, that will quicken me now which slackened me before. Then I thought you might have had more use of me, than now, I suppose, you are like to have. Not but I think the impediment will be rather in my mind than in the matter or times. But to do you service, I will come out of my religion at any time.

For my knighthood,† I wish the manner might be such as might grace me, since the matter will not: I mean, that I might not be merely gregarious in a troop. The coronation is at hand. It may please your lordship to let me hear from you speedily. So I continue

Your Lordship's ever much bounden,

From Gorhambury, this 16th of July, 1603. FR. BACON.

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* Probably the lady whom he afterwards married, Alice, one of the daughters and coheirs of Benedict Barnham, Esq., alderman of London. She survived her husband above twenty years. *Life of Lord Bacon, by Dr. William Rawley.*

† He was knighted at Whitehall, July 23, 1603.

To Isaac Casaubon.*

Cum ex literis, quas ad dominum Carew misisti, cognoscam scripta mea à te probari, et mihi de judicio tuo gratulatus sum, et tibi, quam ea res mihi fuerit voluptati, scribendum existimavi. Atque illud etiam de me recte auguraris, me scientias ex latebris in lucem extrahere vehementer cupere. Neque enim multum interest ea per otium scribi, quæ per otium legantur; sed plane vitam, et res humanas, et medias earum turbas, per contemplationes sanas et veras instructiores esse volo. Quanta autem in hoc genere aggrediar, et quam parvis præsidiis, postmodum fortasse rescisces. Etiam tu pariter gratissimum mihi facies, si quæ in animo habes atque moliris et agitas, mihi nota esse velis. Nam conjunctionem animorum et studiorum plus facere ad amicitias judico, quam civiles necessitates et occasionum officia. Equidem existimo neminem unquam magis verè potuisse dicere de sese, quam me ipsum, illud quod habet psalmus, *multum incola fuit anima mea.* Itaque magis videor cum antiquis versari, quam cum his, quibuscum vivo. Quid ni etiam possim cum absentibus potius versari, quam cum iis, qui præsto sunt; et magis electione in amicitiis uti, quam occasionibus de more submitti? Verum ad institutum revertor ego; si quâ in re amicitia mea tibi aut tuis usui aut ornamento esse possit, tibi operam meam bonam atque navam polliceor. Itaque salutem tibi dicit

Amicus tuus, &c.

Indorsed—*To Casaubon.*

The beginning of a letter immediately after my Lord Treasurer's† decease.‡

It may please your Majesty,

If I shall seem in these few lines to write *majora quam pro fortunâ*, it may please your majesty to take it to be an effect, not of presumption but of affection. For of the one I was never noted; and for the other I could never shew it hitherto to the full, being as a hawk tied to another's fist, that might sometimes bait and proffer, but could never fly. And therefore if, as it was said to one that spoke

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* This letter appears to have been written after Sir George Carew, mentioned in it, returned from his embassy in France, in October, 1609; and before the arrival of Casaubon in England, in October, 1610.

† Robert Earl of Salisbury, who died 24th of May, 1612.

‡ The draught of this imperfect letter is written chiefly in Greek characters.

great words, *Amice, verba tua desiderant civitatem,** so your majesty say to me, "Bacon, your words require a place to speak them;" I must answer, that place, or not place, is in your majesty to add or refrain: and though I never grow eager but to ****** yet your majesty———

To the King, immediately after the Lord Treasurer's death.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I cannot but endeavour to merit, considering your pre venting graces, which is the occasion of these few lines.

Your majesty hath lost a great subject and a great servant. But, if I should praise him in propriety, I should say that he was a fit man to keep things from growing worse; but no very fit man to reduce things to be much better. For he loved to have the eyes of all Israel a little too much on himself, and to have all business still under the hammer, and like clay in the hands of the potter, to mould it as he thought good; so that he was more *in operatione* than *in opere*. And though he had fine passages of action, yet the real conclusions came slowly on. So that although your majesty hath grave counsellors and worthy persons left, yet you do, as it were, turn a leaf wherein if your majesty shall give a frame and constitution to matters before you place the persons, in my simple opinion it were not amiss. But the great matter, and most instant for the present, is the consideration of a parliament, for two effects; the one for the supply of your estate; the other for the better knitting of the hearts of your subjects unto your majesty, according to your infinite merit; for both which, parliaments have been, and are, the ancient and honourable remedy.

Now because I take myself to have a little skill in that region, as one that ever affected that your majesty might, in all your causes, not only prevail, but prevail with satisfaction of the inner man; and though no man can say but I was a perfect and peremptory royalist, yet every man makes me believe that I was never one hour out of credit with the lower house; my desire is to know, whether your majesty will give me leave to meditate and propound unto you some preparative remembrances, touching the future parliament.

* These words of Themistocles are cited likewise by Lord Bacon at the end of his book *De Augmentis Scientiarum*.

Your majesty may truly perceive, that though I cannot challenge to myself either invention, or judgment, or elocution, or method, or any of those powers, yet my offering is care and observance: and as my good old mistress was wont to call me her watch candle, because it pleased her to say I did continually burn (and yet she suffered me to waste almost to nothing), so I must much more owe the like duty to your majesty, by whom my fortunes have been settled and raised. And so craving pardon, I rest

Your Majesty's most humble Servant devote,

31 May, 1612. F. B.

To the King.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

My principal end being to do your majesty service, I crave leave to make at this time to your majesty this most humble oblation of myself; I may truly say with the psalm, *Multum incola fuit anima mea;* for my life hath been conversant in things, wherein I take little pleasure. Your majesty may have heard somewhat that my father was an honest man; and somewhat yet I may have been of myself, though not to make any true judgment by, because I have hitherto had only *potestatem verborum*, nor that neither. I was three of my young years bred with an ambassador in France, and since I have been an old truant in the schoolhouse of your council-chamber, though on the second form, yet longer than any that now sitteth hath been in the head form. If your majesty find any aptness in me, or if you find any scarcity in others, whereby you may think it fit for your service to remove me to business of state, although I have a fair way before me for profit, and, by your majesty's grace and favour, for honour and advancement, and in a course less exposed to the blast of fortune, yet now that he is gone *quo vivente virtutibus certissimum exitium*, I will be ready as a chessman to be wherever you majesty's royal hand shall set me. Your majesty will bear me witness, I have not suddenly opened myself thus far. I have looked on upon others. I see the exceptions; I see the distractions; and I fear Tacitus will be a prophet, *magis alii homines, quam alii mores.* I know mine own heart; and I know not whether God, that hath touched my heart with the affection, may not touch your royal heart to discern it. Howsoever, I shall go on honestly in mine ordinary course, and supply the rest in prayers for you, remaining, &c.

To the King.*

* * * Lastly, I will make two prayers unto your majesty, as I used to do to God Almighty, when I commend to him his own glory and cause; so I will pray to your majesty for yourself.

The one is, that these cogitations of want do not any ways trouble or vex your mind. I remember Moses saith of the land of promise, that it was not like the land of Egypt that was watered with a river, but was watered with showers from heaven; whereby I gather, God preferreth sometimes uncertainties before certainties, because they teach a more immediate dependance upon his providence. Sure I am, *nil novi accidit vobis.* It is no new thing for the greatest kings to be in debt: and, if a man shall *parvis componere magna,* I have seen an Earl of Leicester, a Chancellor Hatton, an Earl of Essex, and an Earl of Salisbury, in debt; and yet was it no manner of diminution to their power or greatness.

My second prayer is, that your majesty, in respect of the hasty freeing of your estate, would not descend to any means, or degree of means, which carrieth not a symmetry with your majesty and greatness. He is gone from whom those courses did wholly flow. So have your wants and necessities in particular, as it were, hanged up in two tablets before the eyes of your Lords and Commons, to be talked of for four months together; to have all your courses to help yourself in revenue or profit put into printed books, which were wont to be held *arcana imperii;* to have such worms of aldermen to lend for ten in the hundred upon good assurance, and with such * *, as if it should save the bark of your fortune; to contract still where might be had the readiest payment, and not the best bargain; to stir a number of projects for your profit, and then to blast them, and leave your majesty nothing but the scandal of them; to pretend an even carriage between your majesty's rights and the ease of the people, and to satisfy neither. These courses, and others the like, I hope, are gone with the deviser of them, which have turned your majesty to inestimable prejudice.†

* The beginning of this letter is wanting.

† It will be but justice to the memory of the Earl of Salisbury to remark, that this disadvantageous character of him by Sir Francis Bacon seems to have been heightened by the prejudices of the latter against that able minister, grounded upon some suspicions, that the earl had not served him with so much zeal as he might have expected from so near a relation, either in Queen Elizabeth's reign or that of her successor. Nor is it any just imputation on his lordship, that he began to decline in King James the First's good opinion, when his majesty's ill

I hope your majesty will pardon my liberty of writing. I know these things are *majora quam pro fortunâ:* but they are *minora quam pro studio et voluntate.* I assure myself your majesty taketh not me for one of a busy nature; for my state being free from all difficulties, and I having such a large field for contemplations, as I have partly, and shall much more make manifest to your majesty and the world, to occupy my thoughts, nothing could make me active but love and affection. So praying my God to bless and favour your person and estate, &c.

To the King.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I have, with all possible diligence since your majesty's progress, attended the service committed to the subcommissioners, touching the repair and improvement of your majesty's means: and this I have done, not only in meeting, and conference, and debate with the rest, but also by my several and private meditation and inquiry: so that, besides the joint account, which we shall give to the lords, I hope I shall be able to give your majesty somewhat *ex proprio.* For as no man loveth better *consulere in commune* than I do; neither am I of those fine ones that use to keep back any thing, wherein they think they may win credit apart, and so make the consultation almost *inutile.* So nevertheless, in cases where matters shall fall in upon the by, perhaps of no less worth than that, which is the proper subject of the consultation; or where I find things passed over too slightly, or in cases where that, which I should advise, is of that nature, as I hold it not fit to be communicated to all those with whom I am joined; these parts of business I put to my private account; not because I would be officious (though I profess I would do works of supererogation if I could), but in a true discretion and caution. And your majesty had some taste in those notes which I gave you for the wards (which it pleased you to say were no tricks nor novelties, but true passages of business), that mine own particular remembrances and observations are not like to be unprofitable. Concerning which notes for the wards, though I might say, *sic vos non vobis,* yet let that pass.

I have also considered fully of that great proposition which your majesty commended to my care and study,

œconomy occasioned demands on the Lord Treasurer, which all his skill, in the business of the finances, could not answer, but which drew from him advices and remonstrances still extant, which that king not being very ready to profit by, conceived some resentment against his old servant, and even retained it against his memory.

touching the conversion of your revenue of land into a multiplied present revenue of rent: wherein, I say, I have considered of the means and course to be taken of the assurance, of the rates, of the exceptions, and of the arguments for and against it. For though the project itself be as old as I can remember, and falleth under every man's capacity, yet the dispute and manage of it asketh a great deal of consideration and judgment; projects being, like Æsop's tongues, the best meat and the worst, as they are chosen and handled. But surely, *ubi deficiunt remedia ordinaria, recurrendum est ad extraordinaria.* Of this also I am ready to give your majesty an account.

Generally, upon this subject of the repair of your majesty's means, I beseech your majesty to give me leave to make this judgment, that your majesty's recovery must be by the medicines of the Galenists and Arabians, and not of the chemists or Paracelsians. For it will not be wrought by any one fine extract, or strong water, but by a skilful company of a number of ingredients, and those by just weight and proportion, and that of some simples, which perhaps of themselves, or in over-great quantity, were little better than poisons, but mixed and broken, and in just quantity, are full of virtue. And secondly, that as your majesty's growing behind hand hath been work of time, so must likewise be your majesty's coming forth and making even. Not but I wish it were by all good and fit means accelerated, but that I foresee, that if your majesty shall propound to yourself to do it *per saltum*, it can hardly be without accidents of prejudice to your honour, safety, or profit.

Indorsed—*My letter to the King touching his estate in general, September* 18, 1612.

To the King.

May it please your Majesty,

According to your highness's pleasure, signified by my Lord Chamberlain,* I have considered of the petition of certain baronets† made unto your majesty for confirmation and extent, or explanation of certain points mentioned in their charter, and am of opinion, that first, whereas it is desired, that the baronets be declared a middle degree between baron and knight, I hold this to be reasonable as to their placing.

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* Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

† The order of baronets was created by patent of King James I., dated the 22d of May, 1611. The year following a decree was made relating to their

Secondly, Where it is desired, that unto the words degree or dignity of baron, the word honour might be added; I know very well, that in the preface of the baronets' patent it is mentioned, that all honours are derived from the king. I find also, that in the patent of the baronets, which are marshalled under the barons (except it be certain principals) the word honour is granted. I find also, that the word dignity is many times in law a superior word to the word honour, as being applied to the king himself, all capital indictments concluding *contra coronam et dignitatem nostram.* It is evident also, that the word honour and honourable are used in these times in common speech very promiscuously. Nevertheless, because the style of honour belongs chiefly to peers and counsellors, I am doubtful what opinion to give therein.

Thirdly, Whereas it is believed, that if there be any question of precedence touching baronets, it may be ordered, that the same be decided by the commissioners marshal; I do not see but it may be granted them for avoiding disturbances.

Fourthly, For the precedence of baronets I find no alteration or difficulty, except it be in this, that the daughters of baronets are desired to be declared to have precedence before the wives of knights' eldest sons; which, because it is a degree hereditary, and that, in all examples, the daughters in general have place next the eldest brothers' wives, I hold convenient.

Lastly, Whereas it is desired, that the apparent heirs males of the bodies of the baronets may be knighted during the life of their fathers; for that I have received from the Lord Chamberlain a signification, that your majesty did so understand it, I humbly subscribe thereunto with this, that the baronets' eldest sons being knights do not take place of ancient knights, so long as their fathers live.

All which, nevertheless, I humbly submit to your majesty's judgment.

Your Majesty's most humble and most bounden Servant,

FR. BACON.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

Having understood of the death of the Lord Chief Justice,† I do ground, in all humbleness, an assured hope, that

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place and precedence; and four years after, viz. in 1616, another decree to the same purpose. See *Selden's Titles of Honour*, Part II. Ch. V. p. 821. Ch. XI. p. 906, and 910. 2d. Edit. fol. 1631.

† Sir Thomas Fleming, who died about August, 1613.

your majesty will not think of any other but your poor servants, your attorney* and your solicitor,† one of them for that place. Else we shall be like Noah's dove, not knowing where to rest our feet. For the places of rest, after the extreme painful places wherein we serve, have used to be either the Lord Chancellor's place, or the mastership of the rolls, or the places of the chief justices: whereof, for the first, I could be almost loath to live to see this worthy counsellor fail. The mastership of the rolls is blocked with a reversion.‡ My Lord Coke is like to outlive us both: so as, if this turn fail, I, for my part, know not whither to look. I have served your majesty above a prenticehood, full seven years and more, as your solicitor, which is, I think, one of the painfullest places in your kingdom, specially as my employments have been; and God hath brought mine own years to fifty-two, which I think is older than ever any solicitor continued unpreferred. My suit is principally that you would remove Mr. Attorney to the place. If he refuse, then I hope your majesty will seek no farther than myself, that I may at last, out of your majesty's grace and favour, step forwards to a place either of more comfort or more ease. Besides, how necessary it is for your majesty to strengthen your service amongst the judges by a chief justice which is sure to your prerogative your majesty knoweth. Therefore I cease farther to trouble your majesty, humbly craving pardon, and relying wholly upon your goodness and remembrance, and resting, in all true humbleness, your Majesty's most devoted,

and faithful Subject and Servant,

FR. BACON.

To Mr. John Murray,§ of the Bed-chamber to the King.‖

Mr. Murray,

I keep the same measure in a proportion with my master and with my friend; which is, that I will never deceive them in any thing which is in my power; and when my power faileth my will, I am sorry.

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* Sir Henry Hobart, who was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, November 26, 1613, in the room of Sir Edward Coke, removed to the post of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, October 25.

† Sir Francis Bacon himself, who was appointed attorney general, Oct. 27, 1613.

‡ To Sir Julius Cæsar.

§ He was created Viscount of Annan in Scotland, in August, 1622.—*Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte*, p. 93. In April, 1624, the Lord Annan was created Earl of Annandale in Scotland.—*Ibid.* p. 250.

‖ This, and the three following letters are printed from Harl. MSS. vol. 6986.

Monday is the day appointed for performing his majesty's commandment. Till then I cannot tell what to advise you farther, except it should be this, that in case the judges should refuse to take order in it themselves, then you must think of some warrant to Mr. Secretary, who is your friend, and constant in the businesses, that he see forthwith his majesty's commandment executed, touching the double lock; and, if need be, repair to the place, and see by view the manner of keeping the seal; and take order that there be no stay of working of the seal for justice, nor no prejudice to Killegrew's farm, nor to the duty of money paid to the chief justice. Whether this may require your presence, as you write, that yourself can best judge. But of this more when we have received the judges' answer. It is my duty, as much as in me is, to procure my master to be obeyed. I ever rest

Your Friend, and assured

Jan. 21, 1614. FR. BACON.

I pray deliver the enclosed letter to his majesty.

Indorsed—*To his very good Friend, Mr. John Murray, of his Majesty's Bedchamber.*

To Mr. Murray.

Mr. Murray,

My Lord Chancellor yesterday, in my presence, had before him the judges of the common pleas, and hath performed his majesty's royal command in a very worthy fashion, such as was fit for our master's greatness; and because the king may know it, I send you the enclosed. This seemeth to have wrought the effect desired; for presently I sent for Sir Richard Cox,* and willed him to present himself to my Lord Hobart, and signify his readiness to attend. He came back to me, and told me all things went on. I know not what afterwards may be, but I think this long chace is at an end. I ever rest

Yours assured,

January 25, 1614. FR. BACON.

To Mr. Murray.

Mr. Murray,

I pray deliver the enclosed to his majesty, and have care of the letter afterwards. I have written also to his majesty

* He was one of the masters of the green cloth, and had had a quarrel at court during the Christmas holidays of the year 1614, with Sir Thomas Erskine; which quarrel was made up by the lords of the marshal's court, Sir Richard being obliged to put up with very foul words.—*MS. Letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, January* 12, 1614-5.

about your reference to this purpose, that if you can get power over the whole title, it may be safe for his majesty to assent, that you may try the right upon the deed. This is the farthest I can go. I ever rest

Yours assured,

February 28, 1614. FR. BACON.

To the King.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

I send your majesty enclosed a copy of our last examination of Peacham,* taken the 10th of this present; whereby your majesty may perceive that this miscreant wretch goeth back from all, and denieth his hand and all; no doubt being fully of belief that he should go presently down to his trial, he meant now to repeat his part which he purposed to play in the country, which was to deny all. But your majesty in your wisdom perceiveth that this denial of his hand, being

* Edmund Peacham, a minister in Somersetshire [MS. Letter of Mr. Chamberlain, dated January 5, 1614-5]. I find one of both his names, who was instituted into the vicarage of Ridge, in Hertfordshire, July 22, 1581, and resigned it in 1587 [Newcourt Repertor, vol. i. p. 864]. Mr. Peacham was committed to the Tower for inserting several treasonable passages in a sermon never preached, nor, as Mr. Justice Croke remarks in his Reports during the reign of King Charles I. p. 125, ever intended to be preached. Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter of the 9th of February, 1614-5, to Sir Dudley Carleton, mentions Mr. Peacham's having been "stretched already, though he be an old man, and, they say, much above threescore; but they could wring nothing out of him more than they had at first in his papers. Yet the king is extremely incensed against him, and will have him prosecuted to the uttermost." In another letter, dated February 23, we are informed that the king, since his coming to London on the 15th, had had "the opinion of the judges severally in Peacham's case; and it is said, that most of them concur to find it treason: yet my lord chief justice [Coke] is for the contrary; and if the Lord Hobart, that rides the western circuit, can be drawn to jump with his colleague, the chief baron [Tanfield], it is thought he shall be sent down to be tried, and trussed up in Somersetshire." In a letter of the 2d of March, 1614-5, Mr. Chamberlain writes, "Peacham's trial at the western assizes is put off, and his journey stayed, though Sir Randall Crew, the king's serjeant, and Sir Henry Yelverton, the solicitor, were ready to go to horse to have waited on him there." "Peacham, the minister," adds he in a letter of the 13th of July, 1615, "that hath been this twelvemonth in the Tower, is sent down to be tried for treason in Somersetshire, before the lord chief baron and Sir Henry Montagu, the recorder. The Lord Hobart gave over that circuit the last assizes. Sir Randall Crew and Sir Henry Yelverton, the king's serjeant and solicitor, are sent down to prosecute the trial." The event of this trial, which was on the 7th of August, appears from Mr. Chamberlain's letter of the 14th of that month, wherein it is said that "seven knights were taken from the bench, and appointed to be of the jury. He defended himself very simply, but obstinately and doggedly enough. But his offence was so foul and scandalous, that he was condemned of high treason; yet not hitherto executed, nor perhaps shall be, if he have the grace to submit himself, and shew some remorse." He died, as appears from another letter of the 27th of March, 1616, in the jail at Taunton, where he was said to have "left behind a most wicked and desperate writing, worse than that he was convicted for."

not possible to be counterfeited, and to be sworn by Adams, and so oft by himself formerly confessed and admitted, could not mend his case before any jury in the world, but rather aggravateth it by his notorious impudency and falsehood, and will make him more odious. He never deceived me; for when others had hopes of discovery, and thought time well spent that way, I told your majesty, *pereuntibus mille figuræ;* and that he now did but turn himself into divers shapes, to save or delay his punishment. And, therefore, submitting myself to your majesty's high wisdom, I think myself bound in conscience to put your majesty in remembrance, whether Sir John Sydenham* shall be detained upon this man's impeaching, in whom there is no truth. Notwithstanding that farther inquiry be made of this other Peacham, and that information and light be taken from Mr. Poulet† and his servants, I hold it, as things are, necessary. God preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble and
devoted Subject and Servant,

March 12, 1614. FR. BACON.

To Mr. Murray.‡

Good Mr. Murray,

According to his majesty's pleasure by you signified to me, we have attended my Lord Chancellor,§ my Lord Treasurer,‖ and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,¶ concerning Sir Gilbert Houghton's patent stayed at the seal; and we have acquainted them with the grounds and state of the suit, to justify them that it was just and beneficial to his majesty. And for any thing we could perceive by any objection or reply they made, we left them in good opinion of the same, with this, that because my Lord Chancellor (by the advice, as it seemeth, of the other two) had acquainted the council-table, for so many as were then present, with that suit amongst others, they thought fit to stay till his majesty's coming to town, being at hand, to understand

* He had been confronted, about the end of February or beginning of March, 1614-5, with Mr. Peacham, about certain speeches which had formerly passed between them.—*MS. letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, from London, March* 2, 1614-5.

† John Poulet, Esq. knight of the shire for the county of Somerset in the parliament which met April 5, 1614. He was created Lord Poulet of Henton St. George, June 23, 1627.

‡ Harl. MSS. vol. 6986. § Ellesmere.

‖ Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk.

¶ Sir Fulk Grevile advanced to that post October 1, 1614, in the room of Sir Julius Cæsar, made Master of the Rolls.

his farther pleasure. We purpose, upon his majesty's coming, to attend his majesty, to give him a more particular account of this business, and some other. Meanwhile, finding his majesty to have care of the matter, we thought it our duty to return this answer to you in discharge of his majesty's direction. We remain,

Your assured Friends,

July 6, 1615. FRANCIS BACON,
HENRY YELVERTON.

To the King.*

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I received this very day, in the forenoon, your majesty's several directions touching your cause prosecuted by my Lord Hunsdon,† as your farmer. Your first direction was by Sir Christopher Parkins, that the day appointed for the judicial sentence should hold: and if my Lord Chief Justice, upon my repair to him, should let me know that he could not be present, then my Lord Chancellor should proceed, calling to him my Lord Hobart, except he should be excepted to; and then some other judge by consent. For the latter part of this your direction, I suppose there would have been no difficulty in admitting my Lord Hobart; for after he had assisted at so many hearings, it would have been too late to except him. But then your majesty's second and later direction, which was delivered unto me from the Earl of Arundel, as by word of mouth, but so as he had set down a remembrance thereof in writing freshly after the signification of his pleasure, was to this effect, that before any proceeding in the Chancery, there should be a conference had between my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Chief Justice, and myself, how your majesty's interest might be secured. This latter direction I acquainted my Lord Chancellor with; and finding an impossibility that this conference should be had before to-morrow, my lord thought good that the day be put over, taking no occasion thereof other than this, that in a cause of so great weight it was fit for him to confer with his assistants before he gave any decree or final order. After such time as I have conferred with my lords, according to your commandment, I will give your majesty account with speed of the conclusion of that conference.

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* Harl. MSS. vol. 6986.

† John Carey, Baron of Hunsdon. He died in April, 1617.

Farther, I think fit to let your majesty know that, in my opinion, I hold it a fit time to proceed in the business of the *rege inconsulto*, which is appointed for Monday. I did think these greater causes would have come to period or pause sooner: but now they are in the height, and to have so great a matter as this of the *rege inconsulto* handled, when men do *aliud agere*, I think it no proper time. Besides, your majesty in your great wisdom knoweth, that this business of Mr. Murray's is somewhat against the stream of the judges' inclination: and it is no part of a skilful mariner to sail on against a tide when the tide is at strongest. If your majesty be pleased to write to my Lord Coke that you would have the business of the *rege inconsulto* receive a hearing when he should be *animo sedato et libero*, and not in the midst of his assiduous and incessant cares and industries in other practices, I think your majesty shall do your service right. Howsoever, I will be provided against the day.

Thus praying God for your happy preservation, whereof God giveth you so many great pledges,

I rest your Majesty's most humble and devoted Subject and Servant,

November 17, 1615. FR. BACON.

To Sir George Villiers.

Sir,

The message which I received from you by Mr. Shute hath bred in me such belief and confidence as I will now wholly rely upon your excellent and happy self. When persons of greatness and quality begin speech with me of the matter, and offer me their good offices, I can but answer them civilly. But those things are but toys: I am yours surer to you than to mine own life; for, as they speak of the turquois stone in a ring, I will break into twenty pieces before you have the least fall. God keep you ever.

February 15, 1615. Your truest Servant, FR. BACON.

My Lord Chancellor is prettily amended. I was with him yesterday almost half an hour. He used me with wonderful tokens of kindness. We both wept, which I do not often.

Indorsed—*A letter to Sir George Villiers, touching a message brought to him by Mr. Shute of a promise of the Chancellor's place.*

Mr. Tobie Matthew* to Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General.

May it please you, Sir,

The notice I have from my Lord Roos, Sir Henry Goodere, and other friends, of the extreme obligation wherein I continue towards you, together with the conscience I have of the knowledge how dearly and truly I honour and love you, and daily pray that you may rise to that height which the state wherein you live can give you, hath taken away the wings of fear, whereby I was almost carried away from daring to importune you in this kind. But I know how good you have always been, and are still, towards me; or rather because I am not able to comprehend how much it is; I will presume there is enough for any use, whereupon an honest humble servant may employ it.

It imports the business of my poor estate, that I be restored to my country for some time; and I have divers friends in that court, who will further my desire thereof, and particularly Mr. Secretary Lake and my Lord Roos, whom I have desired to confer with you about it. But nothing can be done therein, unless my Lord of Canterbury† may be made propitious, or at least not averse; nor do I know in the world how to charm him but by the music of your tongue. I beseech you, sir, lose some minutes upon me, which I shall be glad to pay by whole years of service; and call to mind, if it please you, the last speech you made me, that if I should continue as I then was, and neither prove ill-affected to the state, nor become otherwise than a mere secular man in my religion, you would be pleased to negotiate for my return. On my part the conditions are performed; and it remains, that you do the like: nor can I doubt but that the nobleness of your nature, which loves nothing in the world so well as to be doing of good, can descend from being the attorney-general to a

* Son of Dr. Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York. He was born at Oxford in 1578, while his father was Dean of Christ Church, and educated there. During his travels abroad, he was seduced to the Romish religion by Father Parsons. This occasioned his living out of his own country from the year 1607 to 1617, when he had leave to return to England. He was again ordered to leave it in October 1618; but in 1622 was recalled to assist in the match with Spain; and, on account of his endeavours to promote it, was knighted by King James I. at Royston, on the 10th of October, 1623. He translated into Italian Sir Francis Bacon's Essays, and died at Ghent in Flanders, October 13, 1655, N. S.

† Dr. George Abbot.

great king, to be solicitor for one of the meanest subjects that he hath.

I send my letter to my lord's grace open, that before you seal it (if you shall think fit to seal it, and rather not to deliver it open) you may see the reasons that I have; which, if I be not partial, are very pregnant. Although I confess, that till it was now very lately motioned to me by some honourable friends, who have already procured to disimpression his majesty of some hard conceit he had me in, I did not greatly think thereof; and now I am full of hope that I shall prevail. For supposing that my Lord of Canterbury's mind is but made of iron, the adamant of your persuasion will have power to draw it. It may please you either to send a present answer hereunto, or, since I am not worthy of so much favour, to tell either of those honourable persons aforenamed what the answer is, that accordingly they may co-operate.

This letter goes by Sir Edward Parham, a gentleman whom I have been much beholden to. I know him to be a perfect honest man; and since, I protest, I had rather die than deceive you, I will humbly pray, that he may rather receive favour from you than otherwise, when he shall come in your way, which at one time or other all the world there must do. And I shall acknowledge myself much bound to you, as being enabled by this means to pay many of my debts to him.

I presume to send you the copy of a piece of a letter, which Galileo, of whom I am sure you have heard, wrote to a monk of my acquaintance in Italy, about the answering of that place in Joshua, which concerns the sun's standing still, and approving thereby the pretended falsehood of Copernicus's opinion. The letter was written by occasion of the opposition, which some few in Italy did make against Galileo, as if he went about to establish that by experiments which appears to be contrary to Holy Scripture. But he makes it appear the while by this piece of a letter which I send you, that if that passage of scripture doth expressly favour either side, it is for the affirmative of Copernicus's opinion, and for the negative of Aristotle's. To an attorney-general in the midst of a town, and such a one as is employed in the weightiest affairs of the kingdom, it might seem unseasonable for me to interrupt you with matter of this nature. But I know well enough in how high account you have the truth of things: and that no day can pass, wherein you give not liberty to your wise

thoughts of looking upon the works of nature. It may please you to pardon the so much trouble which I give you in this kind; though yet, I confess, I do not deserve a pardon, because I find not in myself a purpose of forbearing to do the like hereafter. I most humbly kiss your hand.

Your most faithful and affectionate Servant,

Brussels, this 21st of April, 1616. TOBIE MATTHEW.

To Sir George Villiers.

Sir,

Your man made good haste, for he was with me yesterday about ten of the clock the forenoon. Since I held him.

The reason why I set so small a distance of time between the use of the little charm, or, as his majesty better terms it, the evangile,* and the day of his trial,† notwithstanding his majesty's being so far off, as advertisement of success and order thereupon could not go and come between, was chiefly for that his majesty, from whom the overture of that first moved, did write but of a few hours, that this should be done, which I turned into days. Secondly, because the hope I had of effect by that mean was rather of attempting him at this arraignment than of confession before his arraignment. But I submit it to his majesty's better judgment.

The person, by your first description, which was without name, I thought had been meant of Packer:‡ but now I perceive it is another, to me unknown, but, as it seemeth, very fit. I doubt not but he came with sufficient warrant to Mr. Lieutenant to have access. In this I have no more to do, but to expect to hear from his majesty how this worketh.

The letter from his majesty to myself and the serjeants I have received, such as I wished; and I will speak with the commissioners, that he may, by the lieutenant, understand his majesty's care of him, and the tokens herein of his majesty's compassion towards him.

I ever had a purport to make use of that circumstance, that Overbury, the person murdered, was his majesty's pri-

* Cicero, Epist. ad Atticum, Lib. XIII. Ep. 40. uses this word, εὐαγγέλια; which signifies both good news, and the reward given to him who brings good news. See Lib. II. Epist. 3.

† The Earl of Somerset's.

‡ John, of whom there are several letters in Wilwood's Memorials, Vol. II.

soner in the Tower, which indeed is a strong pressure of his majesty's justice. For Overbury is the first prisoner murdered in the Tower since the murder of the young princes by Richard the Third, the tyrant.

I would not trouble his majesty with any points of preamble, nor of the evidence itself, more than that part nakedly, wherein was the tenderness, in which I am glad his majesty, by his postils, which he returned to me, approveth my judgment.

Now I am warranted, I will not stick to say openly I am commanded, not to exasperate nor to aggravate the matter in question of the imprisonment with any other collateral charge of disloyalty or otherwise; wherein, besides his majesty's principal intention, there will be some use to save the former bruits of Spanish matters. *

There is a direction given to Mr. Lieutenant by my Lord Chancellor and myself, that as yesterday Mr. Whiting,† the preacher, a discreet man, and one that was used to Helwisse, should preach before the lady,‡ and teach her, and move her generally to a clear confession. That after the same preacher should speak as much to him at his going away in private; and so proof to be made, whether this good mean, and the last night's thoughts, will produce any thing. And that this day the lieutenant should declare to her the time of her trial, and likewise of his trial, and persuade her, not only upon christian duty, but as good for them both, that she deal clearly touching him, whereof no use can be made, nor need to be made, for evidence, but much use may be made for their comfort.

It is thought, at the day or her trial, the lady will confess the indictment; which if she do, no evidence ought to be given. But because it shall not be a dumb shew, and for his majesty's honour in so solemn an assembly, I purpose to make a declaration of the proceedings of this great work of justice, from the beginning to the end, wherein,

* Secretary Winwood, in a private letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes, dated March 26, 1616, mentions, that there was great expectations, that Sir John Digby, just then returned from Spain, where he had been ambassador, could charge the Earl of Somerset with some treasons and plots with Spain.—*Historical Views of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels*, p. 392.

† John Whiting, D. D. rector of St. Martin Vintry, in London, and vicar of East-Ham, Essex, prebendary of Eald-street, in the church of St. Paul's, and chaplain to King James I. He attended Sir Gervase Herwisse, who had been Lieutenant of the Tower, at his execution upon Tower Hill, on Monday, the 20th of November, 1615, for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

‡ Frances, Countess of Somerset.

nevertheless, I will be careful no ways to prevent or discover the evidence of the next day.

In this my Lord Chancellor and I have likewise used a point of providence: for I did forecast, that if in that narrative, by the connection of things, any thing should be spoken that should shew him guilty, she might break forth into passionate protestations for his clearing; which, though it may be justly made light of, yet it is better avoided. Therefore my Lord Chancellor and I have devised, that upon the entrance into that declaration she shall, in respect of her weakness, and not to add further affliction, be withdrawn.

It is impossible, neither is it needful, for me to express all the particulars of my care in this business. But I divide myself into all cogitations as far as I can foresee, being very glad to find, that his majesty doth not only accept well of my care and advices, but that he applieth his directions so fitly, as guideth me from time to time.

I have received the commissions signed.

I am not forgetful of the goods and estate of Somerset, as far as is seasonable to inquire at this time. My Lord Coke taketh upon him to answer for the jewels, being the chief part of his moveable value: and this, I think, is done with his majesty's privity. But my Lord Coke is a good man to answer for it. God ever preserve and prosper you. I rest

May 10, Friday, at 7 of the clock in the morning, 1616.

Your true and devoted Servant,
Fr. Bacon, C. S.

Mr. Tobie Matthew to Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General.

May it please your Honour,

Such as know your honour may congratulate with you the favour which you have lately received from his majesty, of being made a counsellor of state:* but as for me, I must have leave to congratulate with the council-table, in being so happy as to have you for an assessor. I hope these are but beginnings, and that the marriage, which now I perceive that fortune is about to make with virtue, will be consummate in your person. I cannot dissemble, though I am ashamed to mention, the excessive honour which you have vouchsafed to do unto my picture. But

* Sir Francis Bacon was sworn at Greenwich of the privy-council, June 9, 1616.

shame ought not to be so hateful as sin; and without sin I know not how to conceal the extreme obligation, into which I am entered thereby, which is incomparably more than I can express, and no less than as much as I am able to conceive. And as the copy is more fortunate than the original, because it hath the honour to be under your eye, so the original being much more truly yours than the copy can be, aspires, by having the happiness to see you, to put the picture out of countenance.

I understand by Sir George Petre,* who is arrived here at the Spa, and is so wise as to honour you extremely, though he have not the fortune to be known to your honour, that he had heard how my Lord of Canterbury had been moved in my behalf, and that he gave way unto my return. This, if it be true, cannot have happened without some endeavour of your honour; and therefore, howsoever I have not been particularly advertised, that your honour had delivered my letter to his grace; yet now methinks I do as good as know it, and dare adventure to present you with my humblest thanks for the favour. But the main point is, how his majesty should be moved; wherein my friends are straining courtesy; and unless I have your honour for a master of the ceremonies to take order, who shall begin, all the benefit, that I can reap by this negotiation, will be to have the reputation of little judgment in attempting that which I was not able to obtain; and that howsoever I have shot fair, I know not how to hit the mark. I have been directed by my Lord Roos, who was the first mover of this stone, to write a letter, which himself would deliver to the Master of the Horse,† who doth me the honour to wish me very well: and I have obeyed his lordship, and beseech your honour, that you will be pleased to prevent, or to accompany, or second it with your commendation, lest otherwise the many words that I have used have but the virtue of a single *o*, or cypher. But indeed, if I had not been over-weighed by the authority of my Lord Roos's commandment, I should rather have reserved the master of the horse's favour to some other use afterward. In conformity whereof I have also written to his lordship, and perhaps he will thereupon forbear to deliver my letter to the master of the horse: whereas I should be the less sorry if your honour's self would not

* Grandson of John, the first Lord Petre, and son of William, second baron of that name.

† Sir George Villiers, who was appointed to that office, January 4, 1615-6.

think it inconvenient to make the suit of my return to his majesty; in which case I should, to my extreme contentment, have all my obligations to your honour only.

His majesty's being now in progress will give some impediment to my suit, unless either it be my good fortune that your honour do attend his person, or else that you will be pleased to command some one of the many servants your honour hath in court, to procure the expedition of my cause; wherein I can foresee no difficulty when I consider the interest which your honour alloweth me in your favour, and my innocent carriage abroad for so many years; whereunto all his majesty's ministers, who have known me, I am sure, will give an attestation, according to the contents of my letter, to his Grace of Canterbury.

If I durst, I would most humbly intreat your honour to be pleased, that some servant of yours may speedily advertise me, whether or no his Grace of Canterbury hath received my letter; what his answer was; and what I may hope in this my suit. I remember, that the last words which I had the honour to hear from your mouth, were, that if I continued any time free both from disloyalty and priesthood, your honour would be pleased to make yourself the intercessor for my return. Any letter sent to Mr. Trumball for me will come safely and speedily to my hands.

The term doth now last with your honour all the year long, and therefore the sooner I make an end, the better service I shall do you. I presume to kiss your hands, and continue

Your Honour's most intirely, and
humbly ever at commandment,

Spa, this 16th of July, *stylo novo*, 1616.

TOBIE MATTHEW.

P. S. It is no small penance, that I am forced to apparel my mind in my man's hand, when it speaks to your honour. But God Almighty will have it so, through the shaking I have in my right hand; and I do little less than want the use of my forefinger.

To Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General.

It may please your Honour,

I presumed to importune your honour with a letter of the 16th of this month, whereby I signified how I had written to the Master of the Horse, that he would be pleased to move his majesty for my return into England; and how that I had done it upon the direction of my Lord Roos, who offered to be the deliverer thereof. Withal I told your

honour that I expressed thereby an act rather of obedience than prudence, as not holding his lordship a fit man, whom by presenting that letter, the king might peradventure discover to be my favourer in this business. In regard whereof I besought him, that howsoever I had complied with his command in writing, yet he would forbear the delivery: and I gave him divers reasons for it. And both in contemplation of those reasons, as also of the hazard of miscarriage that letters do run into between these parts and those, I have now thought fit to send your honour this inclosed, accompanied with a most humble intreaty, that you will be pleased to put it into the Master of the Horse's hands, with such a recommendation as you can give. Having read it, your honour may be pleased to seal it; and if his honour have received the former by other hands, this may serve in the nature of a duplicate or copy: if not, it may be the original; and indeed, though it should be but the copy, if it may be touched by your honour, it would have both greater grace and greater life than the principal itself; and therefore, howsoever, I humbly pray, that this may be delivered.

If my business should be remitted to the council-table (which yet I hope will not be) I am most a stranger to my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Chamberlain,* of whom yet I trust, by means of your honour's good word in my behalf, that I shall receive no impediment.

The bearer, Mr. Becher,† can say what my carriage hath been in France, under the eye of several ambassadors; which makes me the more glad to use him in the delivery of this letter to your honour: and if your honour may be pleased to command me any thing, he will convey it to my knowledge.

I hear to my unspeakable joy of heart, how much power you have with the Master of the Horse; and how much immediate favour you have also with his most excellent majesty: so that I cannot but hope for all good success, when I consider withal the protection whereinto you have been pleased to take me, the

Most humble and most obliged of
your Honour's many Servants,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

Spa, this last of July, *stylo novo*, 1616.

* William, Earl of Pembroke.

† William, afterwards knighted. He had been secretary to Sir George Calvert, ambassador to the court of France, and was afterwards agent at that court; and at last made clerk of the council.

To Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General.

May it please your Honour,

I have been made happy by your honour's noble and dear lines of the 22nd of July: and the joy that I took therein was only kept from excess by the notice they gave me of some intentions and advices of your honour, which you have been pleased to impart to others of my friends, with a meaning, that they should acquaint me with them; whereof they have intirely failed. And therefore, if still it should import me to understand what they were, I must be inforced to beg the knowledge of them from yourself. Your honour hath by this short letter delivered me otherwise from a great deal of laborious suspense; for, besides the great hope you give me of being so shortly able to do you reverence, I am come to know, that by the diligence of your favour towards me, my Lord of Canterbury hath been drawn to give way, and the Master of the Horse hath been induced to move. That motion, I trust, will be granted howsoever; but I should be out of fear thereof, if, when he moves the king, your honour would cast to be present; that if his majesty should make any difficulty, some such reply as is wont to come from you in such cases may have power to discharge it.

I have been told rather confidently than credibly (for in truth I am hardly drawn to belive it) that Sir Henry Goodere should under hand (upon the reason of certain accounts that run between him and me, wherein I might justly lose my right, if I had so little wit as to trouble your honour's infinite business by a particular relation thereof,) oppose himself to my return, and perform ill offices in conformity of that unkind affection which he is said to bear me; but as I said, I cannot absolutely believe it, though yet I could not so far despise the information, as not to acquaint your honour with what I heard. I offer it not as a ruled case, but only as a query, as I have also done to Mr. Secretary Lake, in this letter, which I humbly pray your honour may be given him, together with your best advice, how my business is to be carried in this conjuncture of his majesty's drawing near to London, at which time I shall receive my sentence. I have learned from your honour to be confident, that it will be pronounced in my favour: but, if the will of God should be otherwise, I shall yet frame for myself a good proportion of contentment; since, howsoever I was so unfortunate, as that I might

not enjoy my country, yet withal, I was so happy, as that my return thither was desired and negotiated by the affection, which such a person as yourself vouchsafed to bear me. When his majesty shall be moved, if he chance to make difficulty about my return, and offer to impose any condition, which it is known I cannot draw myself to digest, I desire it may be remembered, that my case is common with many of his subjects, who breathe in the air of their country, and that my case is not common with many, since I have lived so long abroad with disgrace at home; and yet have ever been free, not only from suspicion of practice, but from the least dependence upon foreign princes. My king is wise, and I hope that he hath this just mercy in store for me. God Almighty make and keep your honour ever happy, and keep me so in his favour, as I will be sure to continue

Your Honour's ever most obliged
and devoted Servant,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

Antwerp, this first of
Sept. *stylo novo*, 1616.

P. S. May it please your Honour,

I have written to Sir John Digby; and I think he would do me all favour, if he were handsomely put upon it. My lady of Pembroke hath written, and that very earnestly to my Lord Chamberlain in my behalf.

This letter goes by Mr. Robert Garret, to whom I am many ways beholden, for making me the best present that ever I received, by delivering me your honour's last letter.

Sir Francis Bacon to the King.

May it please your excellent Majesty,

Because I have ever found, that in business the consideration of persons, who are *instrumenta animata*, is no less weighty than of matters, I humbly pray your majesty to peruse this inclosed paper, containing a diligence which I have used *in omnem eventum*. If Towerson,* as a passionate man, have overcome himself in his opinion; so it is. But if his company make this good, then I am very glad to see in the case wherein we now stand, there is this hope left, and your majesty's honour preserved in the *entier*. God have your majesty in his divine protection.

Your Majesty's most devoted
and most bounden Servant, &c.

* Whose brother, Captain Gabriel Towerson, was one of the English merchants executed by the Dutch at Amboyna, in 1623.

This is a secret to all men but my Lord Chancellor; and we go on this day with the new company without discouraging them at all.

September 18, 1616.

Indorsed—*To the King, upon Towerson's propositions about the cloth business.*

Richard Martin, Esq.* to Sir Francis Bacon.

Right Honourable,

My attendance at court two days (in vain, considering the end of my journey,) was no loss unto me, seeing thereby I made the gain of the overture and assurance of your honour's affection. These comforts have given new life and strength to my hopes, which before began to faint. I know what your honour promiseth you will undertake; and what you undertake, you seldom fail to compass; for such proof of your prudence and industry your honour hath of late times given to the swaying world. There is, to my understanding, no great intricacy in my affair, in which I plainly descry the course to the shore I would land at; to which neither I nor any other can attain without the direction of our great master pilot, who will not stir much without the beloved mate sound the way. Both these none can so well set awork as yourself, who have not only their ear, but their affection, and that with good right, as I hope in time, to good and public purpose. It is fit likewise that your honour know all my advantages. The present incumbent is tied to me by firm promise, which gives an impediment to the competitors, whereof one already, according to the heaviness of his name and nature, *petit deorsum.* And though I be a bad courtier, yet I know the style of gratitude, and shall learn as I am instructed; whatsoever your honour shall undertake for me, I will make good; therefore I humbly and earnestly intreat your best endeavour, to assure to yourself and your master a servant, who both can and will, though as yet mistaken, advance his honour and service with advantage. Your love and wisdom is my last address; and on the real nobleness of your nature (whereof

* Born about 1570, entered a commoner of Broad-gate's Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1585, whence he removed to the Middle Temple. In the parliament of 1601, he served for the borough of Barnstable in Devon; and in the first parliament of King James I. he served for Cirencester in Gloucestershire. He was chosen recorder of London in September 1618; but died in the last day of the following month. He was much esteemed by the men of learning and genius of that age.

there is so good proof) stands my last hope. If I now find a stop, I will resolve it is *fatum Carthaginis*, and sit down in perpetual peace. In this business I desire all convenient silence; for though I can endure to be refused, yet it would trouble me to have my name blasted. If your honour return not, and you think it requisite, I will attend at court. Mean time, with all humble and hearty wishes for increase of all happiness, I kiss your honour's hands.

Your Honour's humbly at command,

September 27, 1616. R. MARTIN.

Indorsed—*To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney-General, and one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, my singular patron at court.*

To the King.

It may please you Majesty,

This morning, according to your majesty's command, we have had my Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench * before us, we being assisted by all your learned council except Serjeant Crew, who was then gone to attend your majesty. It was delivered unto him, that your majesty's pleasure was, that we should receive an account from him of the performance of a commandment of your majesty laid upon him, which was, that he should enter into a view and retractation of such novelties, and errors, and offensive conceits, as were dispersed in his Reports; that he had had good time to do it; and we doubted not but he had used good endeavour in it, which we desired now in particular to receive from him.

His speech was, that there were of his Reports eleven books, that contained about five hundred cases; that heretofore in other Reports, as namely, those of Mr. Plowden,† which he reverenced much, there hath been found nevertheless errors, which the wisdom of time had discovered, and later judgments controlled; and enumerated to

* Sir Edward Coke.

† Edward Plowden, born of an ancient family of that name at Plowden in Shropshire, about the year 1518. He was educated at Cambridge and Oxford, in both which universities he studied physic for some time, being admitted in November 1552, by the latter to practise chirurgery and physic. After this, he applied himself to the study of the common law, in which he soon became eminent, and in 1557 was autumn reader to the Middle Temple, and three years after lent reader, having been made serjeant, October 27, 1558. He died February 6, 1584-5, at the age of sixty-seven, in the profession of the Roman Catholic faith.

us four cases in Plowden, which were erroneous: and thereupon delivered in to us the inclosed paper, wherein your majesty may perceive, that my lord is a happy man, that there should be no more errors in his five hundred cases than in a few cases of Plowden. Your majesty may also perceive, that your majesty's direction to my Lord Chancellor and myself, and the travail taken by us and Mr. Solicitor,* in following and performing your direction, was not altogether lost; for that of those three heads, which we principally respected, which were the rights and liberties of the church, your prerogative, and the jurisdiction of other your courts my lord hath scarcely fallen upon any, except it be the prince's case, which also yet seemeth to stand but upon the grammatical, of French and Latin.

My lord did also give his promise, which your majesty shall find in the end of his writing, thus far in a kind of common place or thesis, that it was sin for a man to go against his own conscience, though erroneous, except his conscience be first informed and satisfied.

The Lord Chancellor in the conclusion signified to my Lord Coke your majesty's commandment, that until report made, and your pleasure thereupon known, he shall forbear his sitting at Westminster, &c. not restraining nevertheless any other exercise of his place of chief justice in private.

Thus having performed, to the best of our understanding, your royal commandment, we rest ever

Your Majesty's most faithful and
most bounden Servants, &c.

The Lord Viscount Villiers to Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General.

Sir,

I have acquainted his majesty with my Lord Chancellor's and your report, touching my Lord Coke; as also with your opinion therein; which his majesty doth dislike for these three reasons: first, because that by this course you propound, the process cannot have a beginning, till after his majesty's return; which, how long it may last after, no man knoweth; he therefore thinketh it too long and uncertain a delay, to keep the bench so long void from a chief justice. Secondly, although his majesty did use the council's advice in dealing with the Chief Justice upon his other misdemeanours, yet he would be loath to lessen his prerogative in making the council judges, whether he should be

* Sir Henry Yelverton.

turned out of his place or no, if the case should so require. Thirdly, for that my Lord Coke hath sought means to kiss his majesty's hands, and withal, to acquaint him with some things of great importance to his service; he holdeth it not fit to admit him to his presence before these points be determined, because that would be a grant of his pardon before he had his trial. And if those things wherewith he is to acquaint his majesty be of such consequence, it would be dangerous and prejudicial to his majesty to delay him too long. Notwithstanding, if you shall advise of any other reasons to the contrary, his majesty would have you, with all the speed you can, to send them unto him; and in the mean time to keep back his majesty's letter, which is herein sent unto you, from my Lord Coke's knowledge, until you receive his majesty's further direction for your proceeding in his business. And so I rest

Your ever assured Friend at command,

Theobald's, the 3d of October, 1616. GEORGE VILLIERS.

Indorsed—*To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney General, and of his most honourable Privy Council.*

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

We have considered of the letters which we received from your majesty, as well that written to us both as that other written by my Lord Villiers to me, the attorney, which I thought good to acquaint my Lord Chancellor withal, the better to give your majesty satisfaction. And we most humbly desire your majesty to think that we are, and ever shall be, ready to perform and obey your majesty's directions; towards which the first degree is to understand them well.

In answer, therefore, to both the said letters, as well concerning matter as concerning time, we shall, in all humbleness, offer to your majesty's high wisdom the considerations following:

First, we did conceive that after my Lord Coke was sequestered from the table and his circuits,* when your majesty laid upon him your commandment for the expurging of his Reports, and commanded also our service to look into them, and into other novelties introduced into the government, your majesty had in this your doing two principal ends:

* On the 30th of June, 1616. *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I.* p. 19; and Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. lib. vi. p. 18.

The one, to see if, upon so fair an occasion, he would make any expiation of his former faults; and also show himself sensible of those things in his Reports which he could not but know were the likest to be offensive to your majesty.

The other, to perform *de vero* this right to your crown and succession, and your people also; that those errors and novelties might not run on and authorize by time, but might be taken away, whether he consented to it or no.

But we did not conceive your majesty would have had him charged with those faults of his book, or those other novelties, but only would have had them represented to you for your better information.

Now your majesty seeth what he hath done, you can better judge of it than we can. If, upon this probation added to former matters, your majesty think him not fit for your service, we must, in all humbleness, subscribe to your majesty, and acknowledge, that neither his displacing (considering he holdeth his place but during your will and pleasure) nor the choice of a fit man to be put in his room are council-table matters, but are to proceed wholly from your majesty's great wisdom and gracious pleasure. So that, in this course, it is but the signification of your pleasure, and the business is at an end as to him: only there remaineth the actual expurgation or animadversions of the books.

But if your majesty understand it that he shall be charged, then, as your majesty best knoweth, justice requireth that he be heard and called to his answer; and then your majesty will be pleased to consider before whom he shall be charged, whether before the body of your council (as formerly he was) or some selected commissioners; for we conceive your majesty will not think it convenient it should be before us two only. Also the manner of his charge is considerable; whether it shall be verbal by your learned council, as it was last, or whether, in respect of the multiplicity of matters, he shall not have the collections we have made in writing delivered to him. Also the matter of his charge is likewise considerable; whether any of those points of novelty, which by your majesty's commandment we collected, shall be made part of his charge, or only the faults of his books, and the prohibitions and *habeas corpus*, collected by my Lord of Canterbury. In all which course we foresee length of time, not so much for your learned council, to be prepared (for that is almost done already), but because

himself, no doubt, will crave time of advice to peruse his own books, and to see whether the collections be true, and that he be justly charged; and then to produce his proofs, that those things which he shall be charged with were not conceits or singularities of his own, but the acts of court, and other like things tending to excusation or extenuation; wherein we do not see how the time of divers days, if not of weeks, can be denied him.

Now, for time (if this last course of charging him be taken) we may only inform your majesty thus much, that the absence of a chief justice, though it should be for a whole term, as it hath been often upon sickness, can be no hinderance to common justice. For the business of the King's Bench may be dispatched by the rest of the judges; his voice in the Star-chamber may be supplied by any other judge that my Lord Chancellor shall call; and the trials by *nisi prius* may be supplied by commission.

But as for those great matters of discovery we can say nothing more than this, that either they are old or new. If old, he is to blame for having kept them so long; if new, or whatsoever, he may advertise your majesty of them by letter, or deliver them by word to such counsellor as your majesty will assign.

Thus we hope your majesty will accept of our sincerity, having dealt freely and openly with your majesty as becometh us; and when we shall receive your pleasure and direction, we shall execute and obey the same in all things; ending with our prayers for your majesty, and resting

Your Majesty's most faithful and most bounden Servants,

T. ELLESMERE, Canc.

October 6, 1616. FRANCIS BACON.

To Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General.*

Sir,

I have kept your man here thus long because I thought there would have been some occasion for me to write after Mr. Solicitor General's being with the king. But he hath received so full instruction from his majesty that there is nothing left for me to add in the business. And so I rest

Royston, the 13th of October, 1616.

Your faithful Servant,

GEORGE VILLIERS.

Indorsed—*To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, one of his Majesty's Privy Council, and his Attorney-General.*

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

Sir Edmund Bacon* to Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General.

My Lord,

I am bold to present unto your hands by this bearer, whom the law calls up, some salt of wormwood, being uncertain whether the regard of your health makes you still continue the use of that medicine. I could wish it otherwise; for I am persuaded that all diuretics, which carry with them that punctuous nature and caustic quality by calcination, are hurtful to the kidneys, if not enemies to the other principal parts of the body. Wherein, if it shall please you, for your better satisfaction, to call the advice of your learned physicians, and that they shall resolve of any medicine for your health, wherein my poor labour may avail you, you know where your faithful apothecary dwells, who will be ready at your commandment; as I am bound both by your favours to myself, as also by those to my nephew, whom you have brought out of darkness into light, and, by what I hear, have already made him, by your bounty, a subject of emulation to his elder brother. We are all partakers of this your kindness towards him; and for myself, I shall be ever ready to deserve it by any service that shall lie in the power of

Your Lordship's poor Nephew,

Redgrave, this 19th of October, 1616.

EDM. BACON.

Indorsed—*For the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney-General, and one of his most honourable Privy Counsellors, be these delivered at London.*

To the King.

May it please your excellent Majesty,

I send your majesty a form of discharge for my Lord Coke from his place of chief justice of your Bench.†

I send also a warrant to the Lord Chancellor for making forth a writ for a new chief justice, leaving a blank for the name to be supplied by your majesty's presence; for I never received your majesty's express pleasure in it.

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* Nephew of Sir Francis Bacon, being eldest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, eldest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Sir Edmund died without issue, April 10, 1649. There are several letters to him from Sir Henry Wotton, printed among the works of the latter.

† Sir Edward Coke was removed from that post on the 15th of November, 1616.

If your majesty resolve of Montagu* (as I conceive and wish), it is very material, as these times are, that your majesty have some care that the recorder succeeding be a temperate and discreet man, and assured to your majesty's service. If your majesty, without too much harshness, can continue the place within your own servants, it is best; if not, the man upon whom the choice is like to fall, which is Coventry,† I hold doubtful for your service; not but that he is a well learned, and an honest man, but he hath been, as it were, bred by Lord Coke, and seasoned in his ways. God preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most humble
and most bounden Servant,
FR. BACON.

I send not these things which concern my Lord Coke by my Lord Villiers, for such reasons as your majesty may conceive.

November 13, at Noon, 1616.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I send your majesty, according to your commandment, the warrant for the review of Sir Edward Coke's Reports. I had prepared it before I received your majesty's pleasure; but I was glad to see it was in your mind, as well as in my hands. In the nomination which your majesty made of the judges, to whom it should be directed, your majesty could not name the Lord Chief Justice that now is,‡ because he was not then declared; but you could not leave him out now without discountenance.

I send your majesty the state of Lord Darcy's cause§

* Sir Henry Montagu, Recorder of London, who was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, November 16, 1616. He was afterwards made Lord Treasurer, and created Earl of Manchester.

† Thomas Coventry, Esq. afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

‡ Sir Henry Montagu.

§ This is just mentioned in a letter of Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Viscount Villiers, printed in his works; but is more particularly stated in the Reports of Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, p. 120, 121. Edit. London, 1658, fol. as follows. The Lord Darcy of the North sued Gervase Markham, Esq. in the Star-chamber, in 1616, on this occasion. They had hunted together, and the defendant and a servant of the plaintiff, one Beckwith, fell together by the ears in the field; and Beckwith threw him down, and was upon him cuffing him, when the Lord Darcy took his servant off, and reproved him. However, Mr. Markham expressing some anger against his lordship, and charging him with maintaining his man, Lord Darcy answered, that he had used Mr. Markham kindly; for if he had not rescued him from his man, the latter would have beaten him to rags. Mr. Markham upon this wrote five or six letters to Lord Darcy, subscribing them with his name; but did not send

in the Star-chamber, set down by Mr. Solicitor,* and mentioned in the letters which your majesty received from the lords. I leave all in humbleness to your majesty's royal judgment: but this is true, that it was the clear opinion of my Lord Chancellor, and myself, and the two Chief Justices, and others, that it is a cause most fit for the censure of the court, both for the repressing of duels, and the encouragement of complaints in courts of justice. If your majesty be pleased, it shall go on; there resteth but Wednesday next for the hearing; for the last day of term is commonly left for orders, though sometimes, upon extraordinary occasion, it hath been set down for the hearing of some great cause.

I send your majesty also Baron Bromley's,† report which your majesty required; whereby your majesty may perceive things go not so well in Cumberland, which is the seat of the party your majesty named to me, as was conceived. And yet if there were land winds, as there be sea-winds, to bind men in, I could wish he were a little wind-bound, to keep him in the south.

But while your majesty passeth the accounts of judges in circuits, your majesty will give me leave to think of the judges here in the upper region. And because Tacitus saith well, *opportuni magnis conatibus transitus rerum;* now upon this change, when he that letteth is gone, I shall endeavour, to the best of my power and skill, that there may be a consent and united mind in your judges to serve you, and strengthen your business. For I am persuaded there cannot be a sacrifice from which there may come up to you a sweeter odour of rest than this effect whereof I speak.

For this wretched murderer Bertram,‡ now gone to his

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them, and only dispersed them unsealed in the fields, the purport of them being this: that, whereas, the Lord Darcy had said that, but for him, his servant Beckwith had beaten him to rags, he lied; and as often as he should speak it, he lied; and that he would maintain this with his life: adding, that he had dispersed those letters that his lordship might find them, or somebody else bring them to him; and that if his lordship were desirous to speak with him, he might send his boy, who should be well used. For this offence, Mr. Markham was censured, and fined 500*l.* by the Star-chamber.

* Sir Henry Yelverton.

† Edward Bromley, made one of the Barons of the Exchequer, February 6, 1609-10.

‡ John Bertram, a grave man, above seventy years of age, and of a clear reputation, according to Camden, *Annales Regis Jacobi I.* p. 21. He killed, with a pistol, in Lincoln's Inn, on the 12th of November, 1616, Sir John Tyndal, a master in chancery, for having made a report against him in a cause, wherein the sum contended for did not exceed 200*l.* He hanged himself in prison on the 17th of that month.

place, I have, perceiving your majesty's good liking of what I propounded, taken order that there shall be a declaration concerning the cause in the King's Bench, by occasion of punishment of the offence of his keeper; and another in chancery, upon the occasion of moving for an order, according to his just and righteous report. And yet withal, I have set on work a good pen* (and myself will overlook it) for making some little pamphlet fit to fly abroad in the country.

For your majesty's proclamation touching the wearing of cloth, after I had drawn a form as near as I could to your majesty's direction, I propounded it to the lords, my Lord Chancellor being then absent; and after their lordships' good approbation, and some points by them altered, I obtained leave of them to confer thereupon with my Lord Chancellor, and some principal judges, which I did this afternoon; so as, it being now perfected, I shall offer it to the board to-morrow, and so send it to your majesty.

So humbly craving your majesty's pardon for troubling you with so long a letter, specially being accompanied with other papers, I ever rest

Your Majesty's most humble and bounden Servant,

This 21st of November, at ten at night, 1616.

FR. BACON.

Sir Edward Coke to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

I think it now my duty to inform your majesty of the motives that induced the Lord Chancellor and judges to resolve, that a murder or felony committed by one Englishman upon another in a foreign kingdom shall be punished before the constable and marshal here in England.

First, In the book-case, in the 13th year of King Henry IV., in whose reign the statute was made, it is expressly said, one liege-man was killed in Scotland by another liege-man; and the wife of him that was killed did sue an appeal of murder in the constable's court of England. *Vide Statutum*, saith the book, *de primo Henrici IV.* cap. 14. *Et contemporanea expositio est fortissima in Lege.* Stanford,† an author without exception, saith thus, fol.

* Mr. Trott.

† Sir William, the most ancient writer on the pleas of the crown. He was born in Middlesex, August 22, 1509, educated in the University of Oxford, studied the law at Gray's Inn, in which he was elected autumn reader in 1545, made serjeant in 1552, the year following Queen's serjeant, and in 1554, one of the justices of the Common Pleas. He died August 28, 1558.

65. a.: "By the statute of Henry IV. cap. 14. if any subject kill another subject in a foreign kingdom, the wife of him that is slain may have an appeal in England before the constable and marshal: which is a case *in terminis terminantibus.* And when the wife, if the party slain have any, shall have an appeal there, if he hath no wife, his next heir shall have it."

If any fact be committed out of the kingdom, upon the high sea, the Lord Admiral shall determine it. If in a foreign kingdom, the cognizance belongeth to the constable where the jurisdiction pertains to him.

And these authorities being seen by Bromley, Chancellor, and the two chief justices, they clearly resolved the case, as before I have certified your majesty.

I humbly desire I may be so happy as to kiss your majesty's hands, and to my exceeding comfort to see your sacred person; and I shall ever rest

Your Majesty's faithful and loyal Subject,

February 25, 1616-7. EDW. COKE.

Indorsed—*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

To the King.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

My continual meditations upon your majesty's service and greatness have, amongst other things, produced this paper inclosed,† which I most humbly pray your majesty to excuse, being that which in my judgment I think to be good both *de vero*, and *ad populum.* Of other things I have written to my Lord of Buckingham. God for ever preserve and prosper your majesty.

Your Majesty's humble Servant

March 23, 1616. most devoted and most bounden,

FR. BACON.

Indorsed—*My Lord Keeper to his Majesty, with some additional Instructions for Sir John Digby.*

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* His majesty had begun his journey towards Scotland, on the 14th of March, 1616-7.

† Additional instructions to Sir John Digby.‡

Besides your instructions directory to the substance of the main errand, we would have you in the whole carriage and passages of the negotiation, as well with the king himself, as the Duke of Lerma, and council there, intermix discourse upon fit occasions, that may express ourselves to the effect following:

That you doubt not, but that both kings, for that which concerns religion, will proceed sincerely, both being intire and perfect in their own belief and way. But that there are so many noble and excellent effects, which are equally acceptable to both religions, and for the good and happiness of the christian world,

‡ Ambassador to the court of Spain.

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

Whereas the late Lord Chancellor thought it fit to dismiss out of the chancery a cause touching Henry Skipwith to the common law, where he desireth it should be decided; these are to entreat your lordship† in the gentleman's favour, that if the adverse party shall attempt to bring it now back again into your lordship's court, you would not retain it there, but let it rest in the place where now it is, that, without more vexation unto him in posting him from one to another, he may have a final hearing and determination thereof. And so I rest

Your Lordship's ever at command,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

This is a business wherein I spake to my Lord Chancellor; whereupon he dismissed the suit.

Lincoln, the 4th of April, 1617.

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which may arise of this conjunction, as the union of both kings in actions of state, as may make the difference in religion as laid aside, and almost forgotten.

As first, that it will be a means utterly to extinguish and extirpate pirates, which are the common enemies of mankind, and do so much infest Europe at this time.

Also, that it may be a beginning and seed (for the like actions heretofore have had less beginnings) of a holy war against the Turk; whereunto it seems the events of time do invite christian kings, in respect of the great corruption and relaxation of discipline of war in that empire; and much more in respect of the utter ruin and enervation of the Grand Signor's navy and forces by sea; which openeth a way (with congregating vast armies by land) to suffocate and starve Constantinople, and thereby to put those provinces into mutiny and insurrection.

Also, that by the same conjunction there will be erected a tribunal or prætorian power, to decide the controversies which may arise amongst the princes and estates of Christendom, without effusion of christian blood; for so much as any estate of Christendom will hardly recede from that which the two kings shall mediate and determine.

Also, that whereas there doth, as it were, creep upon the ground a disposition, in some places, to make popular estates and leagues to the disadvantage of monarchies, the conjunction of the two kings will be able to stop and impedite the growth of any such evil.

These discourses you shall do well frequently to treat upon, and therewithal to fill up the spaces of the active part of your negotiation; representing that it stands well with the greatness and majesty of the two kings to extend their cogitations and the influence of their government, not only to their own subjects, but to the state of the whole world besides, specially the christian portion thereof.

* Harl. MSS. vol. 7006.

† This is the first of many letters which the marquis of Buckingham wrote to Lord Bacon in favour of persons who had causes depending in, or likely to come into, the court of Chancery. And it is not improbable that such recommendations were considered in that age as less extraordinary and irregular than they would appear now. The marquis made the same kind of applications to Lord Bacon's successor, the Lord Keeper Williams, in whose Life, by Bishop Hacket, part i. p. 107, we are informed, that "there was not a cause of moment, but, as soon as it came to publication, one of the parties brought letters from this mighty peer, and the Lord Keeper's patron."

The Lord Keeper to his Niece, touching her Marriage.

Good Niece,

Amongst your other virtues, I know there wanteth not in you a mind to hearken to the advice of your friends. And, therefore, you will give me leave to move you again more seriously than before in the match with Mr. Comptroller.* The state wherein you now are is to be preferred before marriage, or changed for marriage, not simply the one or the other, but according as, by God's providence, the offers of marriage are more or less fit to be embraced. This gentleman is religious, a person of honour, being counsellor of state, a great officer, and in very good favour with his majesty. He is of years and health fit to be comfortable to you, and to free you of burdensome cares. He is of good means, and a wise and provident man, and of a loving and excellent good nature; and, I find, hath set his affections upon you; so as I foresee you may sooner change your mind, which, as you told me, is not yet towards marriage, than find so happy a choice. I hear he is willing to visit you before his going into France, which, by the king's commandment, is to be within some ten days: and I could wish you used him kindly, and with respect. His return out of France is intended before Michaelmas. God direct you, and be with you. I rest

Your very loving Uncle and assured Friend,

Dorset House, this 28th of April, 1617.

FR. BACON.

To the Lord Keeper.†

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your letters, who liked all your proceedings well, saving only the point, for which you have since made amends, in obeying his pleasure touching the proclamation. His majesty would have your lordship go thoroughly about the business of Ireland, whereinto you are so well entered, especially at this time, that the Chief Justice‡ is come over, who hath delivered

* Sir Thomas Edmondes, who had been appointed to that office, December 21, 1616, and January 19, 1617-8, was made Treasurer of the Household. He had been married to Magdalen, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Wood, Knight, Clerk of the Signet, which lady died at Paris, December 31, 1614.

The proposal for a second marriage between him and the Lord Keeper's niece does not appear to have had success.

† Harl. MSS. vol. 7006.

‡ Sir John Denham, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in 1616. He was made one of the Barons of the Exchequer in England, May 2, 1617. He died January 6, 1638, in the eightieth year of his age. He was the first who set up

his opinion thereof to his majesty, and hath understood what his majesty conceived of the same; wherewith he will acquaint your lordship, and with his own observation and judgment of the businesses of that country.

I give your lordship hearty thanks for your care to satisfy my Lady of Rutland's * desire; and will be as careful, when I come to York, of recommending your suit to the bishop†. So I rest

Newark, the 5th of April, 1617.

Your Lordship's ever at command,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Keeper.‡

My honourable Lord,

I spake at York with the Archbishop,‖ touching the house, which he hath wholly put into your hands to do with it what your lordship shall be pleased.

I have heretofore, since we were in this journey, moved his majesty for a dispatch of my Lord Brackley's§ business: but, because his majesty never having heard of any precedent in the like case, was of opinion, that this would be of ill consequence in making that dignity as easy as the pulling out of a sword to make a man a knight, and so make it of little esteem, he was desirous to be assured, first, that it was no new course, before he would do it in that fashion. But since he can receive no assurance from your lordship of any precedent in that kind, his majesty intendeth not so to precipitate the business, as to expose that dignity to censure and contempt, in omitting the solemnities required, and usually belonging unto it.

His majesty, though he were a while troubled with a little pain in his back, which hindered his hunting, is now, God be thanked, very well, and as merry as ever he was; and we have all held out well.

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customs in Ireland (not but there were laws for the same before); of which the first year's revenue amounted but to 500*l.*; but before his death, which was about twenty-two years after, they were let for 54,000*l.* per annum.—*Borlase's Reduction of Ireland to the Crown of England*, p. 200. Edit. London, 1675.

* Frances, Countess of Rutland, first wife of Francis, Earl of Rutland, and daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charleton, in Wiltshire, knight. She had by the earl an only daughter and heir, Catharine, first married to George, Marquis, and afterwards Duke, of Buckingham; and secondly, to Randolph Macdonald, Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Antrim, in Ireland.

† Relating to York House.

‡ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006. ‖ Dr. Tobie Matthew.

§ Who desired to be created earl in an unusual manner, by letters patents, without the delivering of the patent by the king's own hand, or without the ordinary solemnities of creation. He was accordingly created Earl of Bridgewater, May 27, 1617.

I shewed his majesty your letter, who taketh very well your care and desire to hear of his health. So I commit you to God, and rest

Your Lordship's most assured Friend to do you service,

Aukland, the 18th of April, 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Since the writing of this letter I have had some farther speech with his majesty, touching my Lord Brackley; and find, that if, in your lordship's information in the course, you write any thing that may tend to the furthering of the dispatch of it in that kind, he desireth it may be done.

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

I send your lordship the warrant for the queen,† signed by his majesty, to whom I have likewise delivered your lordship's letter. And touching the matter of the pirates, his majesty cannot yet resolve; but within a day or two your lordship shall see a dispatch, which he purposeth to send to the lords of his council in general, what his opinion and pleasure is in that point.

I would not omit this opportunity to let your lordship know, that his majesty, God be thanked, is in very good health, and so well pleased with his journey, that I never saw him better nor merrier. So I rest

Your Lordship's ever at command,

From Newcastle, the 23d of April, 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Keeper.

My honourable Lord,

I understand that Sir Lewis Tresham hath a suit depending in the Chancery before your lordship; and therefore, out of my love and respect toward him, I have thought fit to recommend him unto your favour so far only as may stand with justice and equity, which is all he desireth, having to encounter a strong party. And because he is shortly to go into Spain about some other business of his own, I farther desire your lordship to give him what expedition you can, that he may receive no prejudice by his journey.

Your Lordship's ever at command,

Indorsed.—May 6, 1616.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† Relating to her house. See the Lord Keeper's letter of April 7, 1617, printed in his works.

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

I have, by reports, heard that which doth much grieve and trouble me, that your lordship hath, through a pain in one of your legs, been forced to keep your chamber. And being desirous to understand the true estate of your health, which reports do not always bring, I intreat your lordship to favour me with a word or two from yourself, which, I hope, will bring me the comfort I desire, who cannot but be very sensible of whatsoever happeneth to your lordship, as being

Your Lordship's most affectionate to do you service,

From Edinburgh, the 3d of June, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

His majesty, God be thanked, is very well, and safely returned from his hunting journey.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

This day I have made even with the business of the kingdom for common justice; not one cause unheard; the lawyers drawn dry of all the motions they were to make; not one petition unanswered. And this, I think, could not be said in our age before. This I speak, not out of ostentation, but out of gladness, when I have done my duty. I know men think I cannot continue if I should thus oppress myself with business: but that account is made. The duties of life are more than life; and if I die now, I shall die before the world be weary of me, which in our times is somewhat rare. And all this while I have been a little unperfect in my foot. But I have taken pains more like the beast with four legs than like a man with scarce two legs. But if it be a gout, which I do neither acknowledge, nor much disclaim, it is a good-natured gout; for I have no rage of it, and it goeth away quickly. I have hope it is but an accident of changing from a field air† to a Thames air;‡ or rather, I think, it is the distance of the king and your lordship from me, that doth congeal my humours and spirits.

When I had written this letter I received your lordship's letter of the third of this present, wherein your lordship sheweth your solicitous care of my health, which did wonderfully comfort me. And it is true, that at this

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† Gray's Inn.

‡ Dorset House, originally belonging to the Bishops of Salisbury, afterwards the house of Sir Richard Sackville, and then of his son, Sir Thomas, Earl of Dorset, and Lord Treasurer.

present I am very well, and my supposed gout quite vanished.

I humbly pray you to commend my service, infinite in desire, howsoever limited in ability, to his majesty, to hear of whose health and good disposition is to me the greatest beatitude which I can receive in this world. And I humbly beseech his majesty to pardon me, that I do not now send him my account of council business, and other his royal commands, till within these four days; because the flood of business of justice did hitherto wholly possess me; which, I know, worketh this effect, as it contenteth his subjects, and knitteth their hearts more and more to his majesty, though, I must confess, my mind is upon other matters, as his majesty shall know, by the grace of God, at his return. God ever bless and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true and most devoted Friend and Servant,

Whitehall, this 8th of June, 1617.

FR. BACON.

To the Lord Keeper.

My honourable Lord,

Your lordship will understand, by Sir Thomas Lake's letter, his majesty's directions touching the surveyor's deputy of the Court of Wards. And though I assure myself of your lordship's care of the business, which his majesty maketh his own, yet my respect to Sir Robert Naunton* maketh me add my recommendation thereof to your lordship, whom I desire to give all the furtherance and assistance you can to the business, that no prejudice or imputation may light upon Sir Robert Naunton, through his zealous affection to attend his majesty in this journey.

I will not omit to let you know, that his majesty is very well, and receiveth much contentment in his journey. And with this conclusion I rest

Your Lordship's most affectionate to do you service,

Edinburgh, the 11th of June, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Viscount Fenton.†

My very good Lord,

I thank your lordship for your courteous letter; and, if I were asked the question, I would always choose rather to have a letter of no news than a letter of news; for news

* Surveyor of the Court of Wards.

† Sir Thomas Erskine, who, for his service to the king, in the attempt of the Earl of Gowry, was, upon his majesty's accession to the throne of England, made Captain of his Guard in the room of Sir Walter Ralegh. He was afterwards created Earl of Kelly.

imports alteration; but letters of kindness and respect bring that which, though it be no news amongst friends, is more welcome.

I am exceedingly glad to hear, that this journey of his majesty, which I never esteemed more than a long progress, save that it had reason of state joined with pleasure, doth sort to be so joyful and so comfortable.

For your parliament, God speed it well: and for ours, you know the sea would be calm, if it were not for the winds: and I hope the king, whensoever that shall be, will find those winds reasonably well laid. Now that the sun is got up a little higher, God ordains all things to the happiness of his majesty and his monarchy.

My health, I thank God, is good; and I hope this supposed gout was but an incomer. I ever rest

Your Lordship's affectionate
and assured Friend,
FR. BACON.

Whitehall, June 18, 1617.

To the Lord Keeper, written from Scotland, June 28, 1618.*

I will begin to speak of the business of this day; *opus hujus diei in die suo*, which is of the parliament. It began on the 7th of this month, and ended this day, being the 28th of June. His majesty, as I perceived by relation, rode thither in great state the first day. These eyes are witnesses that he rode in an honourable fashion, as I have seen him in England, this day. All the lords rode in English robes; not an English lord on horseback, though all the parliament-house at his majesty's elbow, but my Lord of Buckingham, who waited upon the king's stirrup in his collar, but not in his robes. His majesty the first day, by way of preparation to the subject of the parliament, made a declaratory speech, wherein he expressed himself what he would not do, but what he would do. The relation is too prolix for a sheet of paper; and I am promised a copy of it, which I will bring myself unto your lordship with all the speed I may. But I may not be so reserved as not to tell your lordship, that in that speech his majesty was pleased to do England and Englishmen much honour and grace; and that he studied nothing so much, sleeping and waking, as to reduce the barbarity (I have warrant to use the king's own word) of this country unto the sweet civility of ours; adding farther, that if the Scottish nation would

* From a copy in the Paper-office.

be as docible to learn the goodness of England, as they are teachable to limp after their ill, he might with facility prevail in his desire: for they had learned of the English to drink healths, to wear coaches and gay clothes, to take tobacco, and to speak neither Scottish nor English. Many such diseases of the times his majesty was pleased to enumerate, not fit for my pen to remember, and graciously to recognize how much he was beholden to the English nation for their love and conformity to his desires. The king did personally and infallibly sit amongst them of the parliament every day; so that there fell not a word amongst them but his majesty was of council with it.

The whole assembly, after the wonted manner, was abstracted into eight bishops, eight lords, eight gentlemen, knights of the shires, and eight lay burgesses for towns. And this epitome of the whole parliament did meet every day in one room to treat and debate of the great affairs of the kingdom. There was exception taken against some of the lower-house, which were returned by the country, being pointed at as men averse in their appetites and humours to the business of the parliament, who were deposed of their attendance by the king's power, and others, better affected, by the king's election, placed in their room.

The greatest and weightiest articles, agitated in this parliament, were specially touching the government of the kirk and kirkmen, and for the abolishing of hereditary sheriffs to an annual charge; and to enable justices of the peace to have as well the real execution as the title of their places. For now the sheriff doth hold *jura regalia* in his circuit without check or controlment; and the justices of the peace do want the staff of their authority. For the church and commonwealth, his majesty doth strive to shape the frame of this kingdom to the method and degrees of the government of England, as by reading of the several acts it may appear. The king's desire and travail herein, though he did suffer a momentary opposition, (for his countrymen will speak boldly to him,) hath in part been profitable. For though he hath not fully and complementally prevailed in all things, yet he hath won ground in most things, and hath gained acts of parliament to authorize particular commissioners, to set down orders for the church and churchmen, and to treat with sheriffs for their offices by way of pecuniary composition. But all these proceedings are to have an inseparable reference to his majesty. If any prove unreasonably and undutifully re-

fractory, his majesty hath declared himself, that he will proceed against him by the warrant of the law, and by the strength of his royal power.

His majesty's speech this day had a necessary connexion with his former discourse. He was pleased to declare what was done and determined in the progress of this parliament; his reasons for it; and that nothing was gotten by shouldering or wrestling, but by debate, judgment, and reason, without any interposition of his royal power in any thing. He commanded the lords in state of judicature to give life, by a careful execution unto the law, which otherwise was but *mortuum cadaver et bona peritura.*

Thus much touching the legal part of my advertisement unto you. I will give your lordship an account in two lines of the complement of the country, time, and place.

The country affords more profit and better contentment than I could ever promise myself by my reading of it.

The king was never more cheerful in body and mind, never so well pleased: and so are the English of all conditions.

The entertainment very honourable, very general, and very full: every day feasts and invitations. I know not who paid for it. They strive, by direction, to give us all fair contentment, that we may know that the country is not so contemptible, but that it is worth the cherishing.

The Lord Provost of this town, who in English is the mayor, did feast the king and all the lords this week; and another day all the gentlemen. And, I confess, it was performed with state, with abundance, and with a general content.

There is a general and a bold expectation, that Mr John Murray shall be created a baron of this country; and some do chat, that my Lord of Buckingham's Mr. Wray shall be a groom of the bed-chamber in his place.

There hath been yet no creation of lords since his majesty did touch Scotland: but of knights many, yet not so many as we heard in England; but it is thought all the pensioners will be knights to-morrow. Neither are there any more English lords sworn of the privy-council here, save my Lord of Buckingham.

The Earl of Southampton, Montgomery, and Hay, are already gone for England.

I have made good profit of my journey hither; for I have gotten a transcript of the speech which your lordship did deliver at your first and happy sitting in Chancery, which I could not gain in England. It hath been shewed

to the king, and received due approbation. The God of heaven, all-wise and all-sufficient, guard and assist your lordship in all your actions: for I can read here whatsoever your lordship doth act there; and your courses be such as you need not to fear to give copies of them. But the king's ears be wide and long, and he seeth with many eyes. All this works for your honour and comfort. I pray God nothing be soiled, heated, or cooled in the carriage. Envy sometimes attends virtues, and not for good; and these bore certain proprieties and circumstances inherent to your lordship's mind; which men may admire, I cannot express. But I will wade no farther herein, lest I should seem eloquent. I have been too saucy with your lordship, and held you too long with my idleness. He that takes time from your lordship robs the public. God give your body health, and your soul heaven.

My Lord of Pembroke, my Lord of Arundel, my Lord Zouch, and Mr. Secretary Lake, were new sworn of the council here.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I have sent inclosed a letter to his majesty concerning the strangers; in which business I had formerly written to your lordship a joint letter with my Lord of Canterbury, and my Lord Privy Seal,* and Mr. Secretary Winwood.

I am, I thank God, much relieved with my being in the country air, and the order I keep; so that, of late years I have not found my health better.

Your lordship writeth seldomer than you were wont; but when you are once gotten into England you will be more at leisure. God bless and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true and devoted
Friend and Servant,

Gorhambury, July 29, 1617. FR. BACON.

To the Lord Keeper.†

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your letter, who, in this business of Sir John Bennet's,‡ hath altogether followed your lordship's direction.

* Edward Earl of Worcester. † Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

‡ Of Godstow, in Oxfordshire, who was sent to Brussels to the Archduke, to expostulate with him concerning a libel on the king, imputed to Erycius Puteanus, and intitled, *Isaaci Casauboni Corona Regia.*

His majesty hath at length been pleased to dispatch Mr. Lowder,* according to your lordship's desire, for the place in Ireland. What the cause of the stay was, I shall impart to your lordship when I see you, being now too long to relate.

His majesty hath not yet had leisure to read the little book you sent me to present unto him; but, as soon as I see the fittest opportunity, I will offer it to him again.

His majesty, God be thanked, is very well; and I am exceeding glad to hear of your health, that you are of so good term proof, which is the best of it, being you are in those businesses put most to the trial, which I wish may long continue in that strength, that you may still do his majesty and your country that good service, whereof we hear so general approbation that it much rejoiceth me, who rest

Falkland, the 5th of July, 1617.

Your Lordship's, ever at command,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the King.†

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

I do very much thank your majesty for your letter, and think myself much honoured by it. For though it contain some matter of dislike, in which respect it hath grieved me more than any event which hath fallen out in my life: yet because I know reprehensions from the best masters to the best servants are necessary; and that no chastisement is pleasant for the time, but yet worketh good effects; and for that I find intermixed some passages of trust and grace; and find also in myself inwardly sincerity of intention and conformity of will, howsoever I may have erred; I do not a little comfort myself, resting upon your majesty's accustomed favour; and most humbly desiring, that any one of my particular notions may be expounded by the constant and direct course, which your majesty knoweth, I have ever held in your service.

And because it hath pleased your majesty, of your singular grace and favour, to write fully and freely unto me;

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* He had been solicitor to the queen, but finding her dislike of him, he was willing to part with his place for that of one of the barons of the exchequer in Ireland; for which he was recommended by the Lord Keeper to the Earl of Buckingham, in a letter dated at Whitehall, May 25, 1617.

† This letter appears from the indorsement of the king's answer to it, to have been written at Gorhambury, July 25, 1617. That printed with this date in his works, should be August 2, 1617, as I find by the original draught of it.

it is duty and decorum in me not to write shortly to your majesty again, but with some length; not so much by way of defence or answer, which, yet I know your majesty would always graciously admit; as to show that I have, as I ought, weighed every word of your majesty's letter.

First, I do acknowledge that this match of Sir John Villiers is *magnum in parvo* in both senses, that your majesty speaketh. But your majesty perceiveth well, that I took it to be in a farther degree, *majus in parvo*, in respect of your service. But since your majesty biddeth me to confide upon your act of empire, I have done. For, as the Scripture saith "to God all things are possible;" so certainly to wise kings much is possible. But for that second sense, that your majesty speaketh of, *magnum in parvo*, in respect of the stir; albeit it being but a most lawful and ordinary thing, I most humbly pray your majesty to pardon me, if I signify to you, that we here take the loud, and vocal, and as I may call it, streperous carriage to have been far more on the other side, which indeed is inconvenient, rather than the thing itself.

Now for the manner of my affection to my Lord of Buckingham, for whom I would spend my life, and that which is to me more, the cares of my life; I must humbly confess, that it was in this a little parent-like (this being no other term, than his lordship hath heretofore vouchsafed to my counsels;) but in truth (and it please your majesty) without any grain of disesteem of his lordship's discretion; for I know him to be naturally a wise man, of a sound and staid wit, as I ever said unto your majesty. And again, I know he hath the best tutor in Europe. But yet I was afraid, that the height of his fortune might make him too secure; and, as the proverb is, a looker-on sometimes seeth more than a gamester.

For the particular part of a true friend, which your majesty witnesseth, that the earl hath lately performed towards me, in palliating some errors of mine; it is no new thing with me to be more and more bound to his lordship; and I am most humbly to thank (whatsoever it was) both your majesty and him; knowing well, that I may, and do commit many errors, and must depend upon your majesty's gracious countenance and favour for them, and shall have need of such a friend near your majesty. For I am not so ignorant of mine own case, but that I know I am come in with as strong an envy of some particulars, as with the love of the general.

For my opposition to this business, which it seemeth, hath been informed your majesty, I think it was meant (if it be not a thing merely feigned, and without truth or ground) of one of these two things; for I will dissemble nothing with your majesty. It is true, that in those matters, which, by your majesty's commandment and reference, came before the table concerning Sir Edward Coke, I was sometimes sharp (it may be too much;) but it was with end to have your majesty's will performed; or else, when me thought he was more peremptory than became him, in respect of the honour of the table. It is true also, that I disliked the riot or violence, whereof we of your council gave your majesty advertisement by our joint letter: and I disliked it the more because he justified it to be law; which was his old song. But in that act of council which was made thereupon, I did not see but all my lords were as forward as myself, as a thing most necessary for preservation of your peace, which had been so carefully and firmly kept in your absence. And all this had a fair end, in a reconcilement made by Mr. Attorney,* whereby both husband and wife and child should have kept together. Which, if it had continued, I am persuaded the match had been in better and fairer forwardness than now it is.

Now for the times of things, I beseech your majesty to understand that which my Lord of Buckingham will witness with me, that I never had any word of letter from his lordship of the business, till I wrote my letter of advice; nor again after my letter of advice till five weeks after, which was now within this sennight. So that although I did in truth presume, that the earl would do nothing without your majesty's privity; yet I was in some doubt, by this his silence, of his own mind, that he was not earnest in it, but only was content to embrace the officious offers and endeavours of others.

But to conclude this point, after I had received, by a former letter of his lordship, knowledge of his mind, I think Sir Edward Coke himself, the last time he was before the lords, might particularly perceive an alteration in my carriage. And now that your majesty hath been pleased to open yourself to me, I shall be willing to further the match by any thing that shall be desired of me, or that is in my power.

And whereas your majesty conceiveth some dregs of

* Sir Henry Yelverton.

spleen in me by the word *Mr. Bacon;* truly it was but to express in thankfulness the comparative of my fortune unto your majesty, the author of the latter, to show how little I needed to fear, while I had your favour. For, I thank God I was never vindictive nor implacable.

As for my opinion of prejudice to your majesty's service, as I touched it before, I have done; I do humbly acquiesce in your majesty's satisfaction, and rely upon your majesty's judgment, who unto judgment have also power so to mingle the elements, as may conserve the fabric.

For the interest which I have in the mother, I do not doubt but it was increased by this, that I in judgment as I then stood, affected that which she did in passion. But I think the chief obligation was, that I stood so firmly to her in the matter of her assurance, wherein I supposed I did your majesty service, and mentioned it in a memorial of council business, as half craving thanks for it. And sure I am now, that, and the like, hath made Sir Edward Coke a convert, as I did write to your majesty in my last.

For the collation of the two spirits, I shall easily subscribe to your majesty's answer; for Solomon were no true man, if in matter of malice the woman should not be the superior.

To conclude, I have gone through with the plainness of truth, the parts of your majesty's letter; very humbly craving pardon for troubling your majesty so long; and most humbly praying your majesty to maintain me in your grace and favour, which is the fruit of my life upon the root of a good conscience. And although time in this business have cast me upon a particular, which, I confess, may have probable show of passion or interest; yet God is my witness, that the thing that most moved me, was an anxious and solicitous care of your majesty's state and service, out of consideration of the time past and present.

God ever preserve and bless your majesty, and send you a joyful return after your prosperous journey.

The King to the Lord Keeper, in answer to his Lordship's Letter from Gorhambury of July 25, 1617.

James R.

Right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, we greet you well.

Although our approach doth now begin to be near London, and that there doth not appear any great necessity of

answering your last letter, since we are so shortly to be at home; yet we have thought good to make some observations to you upon the same, that you may not err, by mistaking our meaning.

The first observation we are to make is, that whereas you would invert the second sense, wherein we took your *magnum in parvo*, in accounting it to be made *magnum* by their streperous carriage that were for the match, we cannot but show you your mistaking therein. For every wrong must be judged by the first violent and wrongous ground, whereupon it proceeds. And was not the thefteous stealing away of the daughter from her own father* the first ground, whereupon all this great noise hath since proceeded? For the ground of her getting again came upon a lawful and ordinary warrant, subscribed by one of our council,† for redress of the former violence: and except the father of a child might be proved to be either lunatic, or idiot, we never read in any law, that either it could be lawful for any creature to steal his child from him; or that it was a matter of noise and streperous carriage for him to hunt for the recovery of his child again.

Our next observation is, that whereas you protest your affection to Buckingham, and thereafter confess that it is in some sort parent-like; yet after that you have praised his natural parts, we will not say that you throw all down by a direct imputation upon him; but we are sure you do

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* Lady Hatton had first removed her daughter to Sir Edmund Withipole's house, near Oatlands, without the knowledge of Sir Edward Coke; and from thence, according to a letter of Mr. Chamberlain, dated July 19, 1617, the young lady was privately conveyed to a house of the Lord of Argyle's by Hampton Court; whence, adds Mr. Chamberlain, "her father, with a warrant from Mr. Secretary [Winwood] fetched her; but indeed went farther than his warrant, and brake open divers doors before he got her."

† Secretary Winwood, who, as Mr. Chamberlain observes in the letter cited in the note above, was treated with ill language at the council-board by the Lord Keeper, and threatened with a *præmunire*, on account of his warrant granted to Sir Edward Coke. His Lordship at the same time, told the Lady Compton, mother of the Earl of Buckingham, that they wished well to her and her sons, and would be ready to serve the earl with all true affection; whereas others did it out of faction and ambition. Which words glancing directly at Secretary Winwood, he alleged that what he had done was by the direction of the queen and the other parties, and showed a letter of approbation of all his courses from the king, making the whole table judge what faction or ambition appeared in his carriage: to which no answer was returned. The queen, some time after, taking notice of the disgust which the Lord Keeper had conceived against Secretary Winwood, and asking his lordship what occasion the secretary had given him to oppose himself so violently against him? his lordship answered, "Madam, I can say no more but he is proud, and I am proud." MS. letter of Mr. Chamberlain, October 11, 1717.

not deny to have had a greater jealousy of his discretion, than so far as we conceive, he ever deserved at your or any man's hands. For you say, that you were afraid that the height of his fortune might make him too secure; and so, as a looker-on, you might sometime see more than a gamester. Now we know not how to interpret this in plain English, otherwise than that you were afraid that the height of his fortune might make him misknow himself. And surely, if that be your parent-like affection toward him, he hath no obligation to you for it. And for our part, besides our own proof that we find him farthest from that vice of any courtier, that ever we had so near about us; so do we fear, that you shall prove the only phœnix in that jealousy of all the kingdom. For we would be very sorry that the world should apprehend that conceit of him. But we cannot conceal, that we think it was least your part of any to enter into that jealousy of him, of whom we have heard you oft speak in a contrary style. And as for that error of yours, which he lately palliated, whereof you seem to pretend ignorance; the time is so short since you commended to him one* to be of the barons of our exchequer in Ireland, as we cannot think you to be so short of memory, as to have forgotten how far you undertook in that business, before acquainting us with it; what a long journey you made the poor man undertake, together with the slight recommendation you sent of him; which drove us to those straits, that both the poor man had been undone, and your credit a little blasted, if Buckingham had not, by his importunity made us both grant you more than suit (for you had already acted a part of it,) and likewise run a hazard of the hindrance of our own service, by preferring a person to so important a place, whom you so slightly recommended.

Our third observation is upon the point of your opposition to this business wherein you either do, or at least would seem to mistake us a little. For first, whereas you excuse yourself of the oppositions you made against Sir Edward Coke at the council-table, both for that, and other causes; we never took upon us such a patrociny of Sir Edward Coke, as if he were a man not to be meddled withal in any case. For whatsoever you did against him, by our employment and commendation, we ever allowed it,

* Mr. Lowder. See the letter of the Earl of Buckingham of the 5th of July.

and still do, for good service on your part. *De bonis operibus non lapidamus vos.* But whereas you talk of the riot and violence committed by him, we wonder you make no mention of the riot and violence of them that stole away his daughter, which was the first ground of all that noise as we said before. For a man may be compelled by manifest wrong beyond his patience; and the first breach of that quietness, which hath ever been kept since the beginning of our journey was made by them that committed the theft. And for your laying the burden of your opposition upon the council, we meddle not with that question; but the opposition, which we justly find fault with you, was the refusal to sign a warrant for the father to the recovery of his child, clad with those circumstances (as is reported) of your slight carriage to Buckingham's mother, when she repaired to you upon so reasonable an errand. What farther opposition you made in that business, we leave it to the due trial in the own time. But whereas you would distinguish of times, pretending ignorance either of our meaning or his, when you made your opposition; that would have served for a reasonable excuse not to have furthered such a business, till you had been first employed in it: but that can serve for no excuse of crossing any thing that so nearly concerned one, whom you profess such friendship unto. We will not speak of obligation; for surely we think, even in good manners, you had reason not to have crossed any thing wherein you had heard his name used till you had heard from him. For if you had willingly given your consent and hand to the recovery of the young gentlewoman; and then written both to us and to him what inconvenience appeared to you to be in such a match; that had been the part indeed of a true servant to us, and a true friend to him. But first to make an opposition, and then to give advice by way of friendship, is to make the plough go before the horse.

Thus leaving all the particulars of your carriage, in this business to the own proper time, which is ever the discoverer of truth, we commend you to God. Given under our signet at Nantwich, in the fifteenth year of our reign of Great Britain, &c.

To the Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

I have received your lordship's letter by your man; but having so lately imparted my mind to you in my former letters, I refer your lordship to those letters without making a needless repetition, and rest

Your Lordship's at command,

Ashton, the 25th of Aug. 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*To my honourable Lord, Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.*

Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General, to the Lord Keeper Bacon.

My most worthy and honourable Lord,

I dare not think my journey lost, because I have with joy seen the face of my master the king, though more clouded towards me than I looked for.

Sir Edward Coke hath not forborne by any engine, to heave at your honour, and at myself; and he works by the weightiest instrument, the earl of Buckingham, who, as I see sets him as close to him as his shirt, the earl speaking in Sir Edward's praise, and as it were, menacing in his spirit.

My lord, I emboldened myself to assay the temper of my Lord of Buckingham to myself, and found it very fervent, misled by information, which yet I find he embraced as truth, and did nobly and plainly tell me he would not secretly bite; but whosoever had had any interest, or tasted of the opposition to his brother's marriage, he would as openly oppose them to their faces, and they should discern what favour he had, by the power he would use.

In the passage between him and me, I stood with much confidence upon these grounds:

First, that neither your lordship nor myself had any way opposed, but many ways had furthered the fair passage to the marriage.

Secondly, that we only wished the manner of Sir Edward's proceedings to have been more temperate, and more nearly resembling the earl's sweet disposition.

Thirdly, that the chiefest check in this business was Sir Edward himself, who listened to no advice, who was so transported with passion, as he purposely declined the even way which your lordship and the rest of the lords left both him, his lady, and his daughter in.

Fourthly, I was bold to stand upon my ground; and so I said I knew your lordship would, that these were slanders, which were brought him of us both; and that it stood not with his honour to give credit to them.

After I had passed these straits with the earl, leaving him leaning still to the first relation of envious and odious adversaries, I adventured to approach his majesty, who graciously gave me his hand to kiss, but intermixed withal that I deserved not that favour if three or four things were true, which he had to object against me. I was bold to crave his princely justice; first to hear, then to judge; which he graciously granted, and said he wished I could clear myself. I answered, I would not appeal to his mercy in any of the points, but would endure the severest censure, if any of them were true. Whereupon he said he would reserve his judgment till he heard me, which could not be then, his other occasions pressed him so much. All this was in the hearing of the earl; and I protest, I think the confidence in my innocency made me depart half justified; for I likewise kissed his majesty's hand at his departure; and though out of his grace he commanded my attendance to Warwick, yet upon my suit he easily inclined to give me the choice, to wait on him at Windsor, or at London.

Now my lord, give me leave, out of all my affections, that shall ever serve you, to intimate touching yourself:

1. That every courtier is acquainted, that the earl professeth openly against you, as forgetful of his kindness, and unfaithful to him in your love, and in your actions.

2. That he returneth the shame upon himself in not listening to counsel that dissuaded his affection from you, and not to mount you so high, not forbearing in open speech (as divers have told me, and this bearer, your gentleman, hath heard also) to tax you as if it were an inveterate custom with you to be unfaithful to him, as you were to the earls of Essex and Somerset.

3. That it is too common in every man's mouth in court, that your greatness shall be abated; and as your tongue hath been as a razor to some, so shall theirs be to you.

4. That there is laid up for you, to make your burden the more grievous, many petitions to his majesty against you.

My lord, Sir Edward Coke, as if he were already upon his wings, triumphs exceedingly; hath much private conference with his majesty; and in public doth offer himself, and thrust upon the king with as great boldness of speech as heretofore.

It is thought, and much feared, that at Woodstock he will again be recalled to the council-table; for neither are the earl's ears, nor his thoughts ever off him.

Sir Edward Coke, with much audacity affirmeth his daughter to be most deeply in love with Sir John Villiers; that the contract pretended with the Earl of Oxford is counterfeit; and the letter also, that is pretended to come from the earl.

My noble lord, if I were worthy, being the meanest of all to interpose my weakness, I would humbly desire,

1. That your lordship fail not to be with his majesty at Woodstock. The sight of you will fright some.

2. That you single not yourself from the other lords; but justify the proceedings as all your joint acts; and I little fear but you pass conqueror.

3. That you retort the clamour and noise in this business upon Sir Edward Coke, by the violence of his carriage.

4. That you seem not dismayed, but open yourself bravely and confidently, wherein you can excel all subjects; by which means I know you shall amaze some and daunt others.

I have abused your lordship's patience long; but my duty and affection towards your lordship shall have no end; but I will still wish your honour greater, and rest myself

Your Honour's Servant,

Daventry, Sept. 3, 1617. HENRY YELVERTON.

I beseech your lordship burn this letter.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

It may please your lordship to let his majesty understand that I have spoken with all the judges, signifying to them his majesty's pleasure touching the commendams. They all *una voce* did re-affirm, that his majesty's powers, neither the power of the crown, nor the practised power by the archbishop, as well in the commendam *ad recipiendum*, as the commendam *ad retinendum*, are intended to be touched; but that the judgment is built upon the particular defects and informalities of this commendam now before them. They received with much comfort, that his majesty took so well at their hands the former stay, and were very well content and desirous, that when judgment is given, there be a faithful report made of the reason thereof.

The accounts of the summer circuits, as well as that of

the lent circuit, shall be ready against his majesty's coming. They will also be ready with some account of their labours concerning Sir Edward Coke's Reports: wherein I told them his majesty's meaning was, not to disgrace the person, but to rectify the work, having in his royal contemplation rather posterity than the present.

The two points touching the peace of the middle shires, I have put to a consult with some selected judges.

The cause of the Egertons I have put off, and shall presently enter into the treaty of accord, according to his majesty's commandment, which is well tasted abroad in respect of his compassion towards those ancient families.

God ever preserve and prosper your lordship, according to the faithful and fervent wishes of

Your Lordship's true Friend,
and devoted Servant,
FR. BACON.

York House,
October 11, 1617.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I have reformed the ordinance according to his majesty's corrections, which were very material. And for the first of *phrasis non placet*, I understand his majesty, nay farther, I understand myself, the better for it. I send your lordship therefore six privy seals; for every court will look to have their several warrant. I send also two bills for letters patents to the two reporters: and for the persons, I send also four names, with my commendations of those two, for which I will answer upon my knowledge. The names must be filled in the blanks; and so they are to be returned.

For the business of the Court of Wards, your lordship's letter found me in the care of it. Therefore, according to his majesty's commandment, by you signified, I have sent a letter for his majesty's signature. And the directions themselves are also to be signed. These are not to be returned to me, lest the secret come out; but to be sent to my Lord of Wallingford, as the packets use to be sent.

I do much rejoice to hear of his majesty's health and good disposition. For me, though I am incessantly in business, yet the reintegration of your love maketh me find all things easy.

God preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true Friend,
and devoted Servant,
FR. BACON.

York House,
October 18, 1617.

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

I have delivered the judges' advice, touching the middle shires, unto his majesty, who liketh it very well. As for the point of law, his majesty will consider of it at more leisure, and then send you his opinion thereof. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Hinchingbroke, the 22d of October, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Keeper.

My honourable Lord,

His majesty hath spent some time with Sir Lionel Cranfield about his own business, wherewith he acquainted his majesty. He hath had some conference with your lordship, upon whose report to his majesty of your zeal and care of his service, which his majesty accepteth very well at your hands, he hath commanded Sir L. Cranfield to attend your lordship, to signify his farther pleasure for the furtherance of his service; unto whose relation I refer you. His majesty's farther pleasure is, you acquaint no creature living with it, he having resolved to rely upon your care and trust only.

Thus, wishing you all happiness, I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

October 26, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Sir Francis Englefyld† to the Lord Keeper.

Right Honourable,

Give me leave, I beseech your lordship, for want of other means, by this paper to let your lordship understand, that notwithstanding I rest in no contempt, nor have to my

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† This gentleman was very unfortunate in his behaviour with regard to those who had the great seal; for in Hilary Term of the year 1623-4 he was fined three thousand pounds by the Star-chamber, for casting an imputation of bribery on the Lord Keeper Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. MS. letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated at London, 1623-4. Sir Francis had been committed to the fleet for a contempt of a decree in Chancery; upon which he was charged, by Sir John Bennet, with having said before sufficient witness, "that he could prove this holy Bishop Judge had been bribed by some that fared well in their causes." A few days after the sentence in the Star-chamber, the Lord Keeper sent for Sir Francis, and told him, he would refute his foul aspersions, and prove upon him that he scorned the pelf of the world, or to exact, or make lucre of any man; and that, for his own part, he forgave him every penny of his fine, and would crave the same mercy towards him from the king. —Bishop Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, Part I. p. 83, 84.

knowledge broken any order made by your lordship concerning the trust, either for the payment of money, or assignment of land; yet, by reason of my close imprisonment, and the unusual carriage of this cause against me, I can get no council who will in open court deliver my case unto your lordship. I must therefore humbly leave unto your lordship's wisdom, how far your lordship will, upon my adversary's fraudulent bill exhibited by the wife without her husband's privity, extend the most powerful arm of your authority against me, who desire nothing but the honest performance of a trust, which I know not how to leave if I would. So, nothing doubting but your lordship will do what appertaineth to justice, and the eminent place of equity your lordship holdeth, I must, since I cannot understand from your lordship the cause of my late close restraint, rest, during your lordship's pleasure,

Your Lordship's close Prisoner in the Fleet,

Oct. 28, 1617. FR. ENGLEFYLD.

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

I have thought good to renew my motion to your lordship, in the behalf of my Lord of Huntingdon, my Lord Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Gerard; for that I am more particularly acquainted with their desires; they only seeking the true advancement of the charitable uses, unto which the land, given by their grandfather, was intended: which, as I am informed, was meant by way of a corporation, and by this means, that it might be settled upon the schoolmaster, usher, and poor, and the coheirs to be visitors. The tenants might be conscionably dealt withal; and so it will be out of the power of any feoffees to abuse the trust; which, it hath been lately proved, have been hitherto the hindrance of this good work. These coheirs desire only the honour of their ancestor's gift, and wish the money, misemployed and ordered to be paid into court by Sir John Harper, may rather be bestowed by your lordship's discretion for the augmentation of the foundation of their ancestors, than by the censure of any other. And so I rest

Your Lordship's Servant,

Theobalds, November 12. C. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—1617.

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

Though I had resolved to give your lordship no more trouble in matters of controversy depending before you, with what importance soever my letters had been, yet the respect I bear unto this gentleman hath so far forced my resolution, as to recommend unto your lordship the suit, which, I am informed by him, is to receive a hearing before you on Monday next, between Barneby Leigh and Sir Edward Dyer, plaintiffs, and Sir Thomas Thynne,† defendant; wherein I desire your lordship's favour on the plaintiffs so far only as the justice of their cause shall require. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Newmarket, the 15th of Nov. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—1617.

To the Lord Keeper.‡

My honourable Lord,

The certificate being returned upon the commission touching Sir Richard Haughton's alum mines, I have thought fit to desire your lordship's furtherance in the business, which his majesty (as your lordship will see by his letter) much affecteth as a bargain for his advantage, and for the present relief of Sir Richard Haughton. What favour your lordship shall do him therein I will not fail to acknowledge, and will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*Received November* 16, 1617.

To the Lord Keeper.§

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your lordship's letter, who liketh well of the judges' opinion you sent unto him, and hath pricked the sheriff of Buckinghamshire in the roll you sent, which I returned signed unto your Lordship.

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† Eldest son of Sir John Thynne, knight, who died November 21, 1604. This Sir Thomas's younger son by his first wife, Mary, daughter of George, Lord Audley, was father of Thomas Thynne, Esq.; assassinated by the followers of Count Coningsmark, February 12, 1682-3.

‡ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

§ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

His majesty takes very well the pains you have taken in sending to Sir Lionel Cranfield; and desireth you to send to him again, and to quicken him in the business.

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

His Majesty liketh well the course taken about his household, wherewith he would have your lordship, and the rest of his council, to go forward.

Newmarket, the 17th November, 1617.

Indorsed—*My Lord of Buckingham showing his Majesty's approbation of the courses held touching the household.*

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

Understanding that Thomas Hukeley, a merchant of London, of whom I have heard a good report, intendeth to bring before your lordship in Chancery a cause depending between him, in the right of his wife, daughter of William Austen, and one John Horsemendon, who married another daughter of the said Austen; I have thought fit to desire your lordship to give the said Thomas Hukeley a favourable hearing, when his cause shall come before you; and so far to respect him for my sake, as your lordship shall see him grounded upon equity and reason; which is no more than I assure myself your lordship will grant readily, as it is desired by

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*November* 17, 1617.

To the Earl of Buckingham.†

My very good Lord,

The last letter of my lords, whereof the conclusion indeed is a little blunt, as the king calleth it, was concluded in my absence, which hath been but once since I came to this town; and brought me by the clerk of the council, as I sat in Chancery. Whereupon I retired to a little closet I have there, and signed it, not thinking fit to sever.

For my opinion, I dispatched it the morrow following.

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† In answer to his lordship's letter from Newmarket, November 19, 1617, printed in Lord Bacon's Works.

And till Sir Lionel Cranfield* be able to execute his part in the sub-commission, it will, in my opinion, not be so fit to direct it. He crept to me yesternight, but he is not well. I did his majesty's message to him touching the tobacco; and he said he would give his majesty very real and solid satisfaction touching the same.

This is all for the present I shall trouble your lordship withal, resting ever

Your Lordship's true Friend and devoted Servant,

November 20, 1617. FR. BACON.

To the Lord Keeper.†

My honourable Lord,

His majesty liketh very well of the draught your lordship sent of the letter for the sub-commission, and hath signed it as it was, without any alteration, and sent it to the lords. Which is all I have to write at this time, but that I ever rest your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, the 2nd of December, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Keeper.‡

My honourable Lord,

His majesty hath been pleased to refer a petition of one Sir Thomas Blackstones to your lordship, who being brother-in-law to a gentleman whom I much respect, Sir Henry Constable, I have, at his request, yielded to recommend his business so far to your lordship's favour, as you shall find his case to deserve compassion, and may stand with the rules of equity. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, the 4th of December. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—1617.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Your lordship may marvel, that together with the letter from the board, which you see passed so well, there came no particular letter from myself; wherein, though it be

* He was originally a merchant in the city of London, introduced to the king's knowledge by the Earl of Northampton, and into his service by the Earl of Buckingham, being the great projector for reforming the king's household, advancing the customs, and other services; for which he was made Lord Treasurer, Baron Cranfield, and Earl of Middlesex; but being accused by the house of commons for misdemeanours in his office, he had a severe sentence passed upon him by the lords in 1624.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006. ‡ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

true, that now this very evening I have made even with the causes of Chancery, and comparing with the causes heard by my lord,* that dead is, of Michaelmas term was twelvemonth, I find them to be double so many and one more; besides that the causes that I dispatch do seldom turn upon me again, as his many times did; yet nevertheless, I do assure your lordship, that should have been no excuse to me, who shall ever assign both to the causes of the subject, yea and to my health, but the leavings of times after his majesty's business done. But the truth is, I could not speak with Sir Lionel Cranfield, with whom of necessity I was to confer about the names till this afternoon.

First, therefore, I send the names by his advice, and with mine own good allowance of those, which we wish his majesty should select; wherein I have had respect somewhat to form, more to the avoiding of opposition, but most to the service.

Two most important effects his majesty's letter hath wrought already: the one, that we perceive his majesty will go through stitch, which goeth to the root of our disease. The other, that it awaketh the particular officers, and will make their own endeavours and propositions less perfunctory, and more solid and true for the future. Somewhat is to be done presently, and somewhat by seasonable degrees. For the present my advice is, his majesty would be pleased to write back to the table, that he doth well approve that we did not put back or retard the good ways we were in of ourselves; and that we understood his majesty's right: that his late direction was to give help, and not hindrance to the former courses; and that he doth expect the propositions we have in hand, when they are finished: and that for the sub-commissions, he hath sent us the names he hath chosen out of those by us sent and propounded; and that he leaveth the particular directions from time to time, in the use of the sub-commissioners, wholly to the table.

This I conceive to be the fairest way; first to seal the sub-commission without opening the nature of their employments, and without seeming that they should have any immediate dependence upon his majesty, but merely upon the table.

As for that which is to be kept in breast, and to come forth by parts, the degrees are these:

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* Chancellor Ellesmere.

First, to employ the sub-commissioners in the reconsidering of those branches, which the several officers shall propound.

Next, in taking consideration of other branches of retrenchment, besides those which shall be propounded.

The third, to take into consideration the great and huge arrears and debts in every office; whether there be cause to abate them upon deceit or abuse; and at least how to settle them best, both for the king's honour, and avoiding of clamour, and for the taking away, as much as may be, that same ill influence and effect, whereby the arrear past destroys the good husbandry and reformation to come.

The fourth is to proceed from the consideration of the retrenchments and arrears to the improvements.

All these four, at least the last three, I wish not to be stirred in till his majesty's coming.

God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true Friend
and devoted Servant,
FR. BACON.

Your lordship will be pleased to have a little care of the bestowing of this letter.

York House, this 6th
of December, 1617.

To the Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

I have received so many letters lately from your lordship, that I cannot answer them severally: but the ground of them all being only this, that your lordship feareth I am so incensed against you that I will hearken to every information that is made unto me; this one letter may well make answer unto them all. As his majesty is not apt to give ear to any idle report against men of your place; so for myself, I will answer that it is far from my disposition to take any advantage in that kind. And for your lordship's unkind dealing with me in this matter of my brother's, time will try all. His majesty hath given me commandment to make this answer in his name to your letter to him, that he needeth not to make any other answer to you, than that which in that letter you make to yourself, that you know his majesty to be so judicious, that whatsoever he heareth, he will keep one ear open to you; which being indeed his own princely disposition, you may be assured of his gracious favour in that kind.

I will not trouble your lordship with any longer discourse

at this time, being to meet you so shortly, where will be better trial of all that hath passed, than can be made by letters. So I rest

Your Lordship's at command,

Warwick, Sept. 5, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

The Earl of Buckingham to the Lord Keeper, Sir Francis Bacon.*

My Lord,

I have made his majesty acquainted with your note concerning that wicked fellow's speeches, which his majesty contemneth, as is usual to his great spirit in these cases. But notwithstanding, his majesty is pleased that it shall be exactly tried whether this foul-mouthed fellow was taken either with drunkenness or madness, when he spake it. And as for your lordship's advice for setting up again the commissioners for suits, his majesty saith, there will be time enough for thinking upon that, at his coming to Hampton Court.

But his majesty's direction, in answer of your letter hath given me occasion to join hereunto a discovery upon the discourse you had with me this day.† For I do freely confess, that your offer of submission unto me, and in writing, if so I would have it, battered so the unkindness that I had conceived in my heart for your behaviour towards me in my absence, as out of the sparks of my old affection towards you, I went to sound his majesty's intention towards you, specially in any public meeting; where I found on the one part, his majesty so little satisfied with your late answer unto him, which he counted (for I protest I use his own terms) confused and childish, and his rigorous resolution on the other part so fixed, that he would put some public exemplary mark upon you; as I protest the sight of his deep conceived indignation quenched my passion, making me upon the instant change from the person of a party into a peace-maker; so as I was forced upon my knees to beg of his majesty, that he would put no public act of disgrace upon you. And as I dare say, no other person would have been patiently heard in this suit by his majesty but my-

* This seems to be the letter to which the Lord Keeper returned an answer, September 22, 1617, printed in his works.

† At Windsor, according to Sir Antony Weldon, who may perhaps be believed in such a circumstance as this. See *Court and Character of King James I.* p. 122.

self; so did I (though not without difficulty) obtain thus much, that he would not so far disable you from the merit of your future service, as to put any particular mark of disgrace upon your person. Only thus far his majesty protesteth, that upon the conscience of his office he cannot omit (though laying aside all passion) to give a kindly reprimand at his first sitting in council, to so many of his counsellors, as were then here behind, and were actors in this business, for their ill behaviour in it. Some of the particular errors committed in this business he will name, but without accusing any particular persons by name.

Thus your lordship seeth the fruits of my natural inclination. I protest, all this time past it was no small grief unto me to hear the mouth of so many upon this occasion open to load you with innumerable malicious and detracting speeches, as if no music were more pleasing to my ear, than to rail of you: which made me rather regret the ill-nature of mankind, that, like dogs, love to set upon them that they see snatched at.

And to conclude, my lord, you have hereby a fair occasion so to make good hereafter your reputation, by your sincere service to his majesty, as also by your firm and constant kindness to your friends, as I may (your lordship's old friend) participate of the comfort and honour that will thereby come to you. Thus I rest at last

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,
G. B.

The force of your old kindness hath made me set down this in writing unto you, which some, that have deserved ill of me in this action, would be glad to obtain by word of mouth, though they be far enough from it for ought I yet see. But I beseech your lordship to reserve this secretly to yourself only, till our meeting at Hampton Court, lest his majesty should be highly offended for a cause that I know.

Indorsed—*A letter of reconciliation from Lord Buckingham after his Majesty's return from Scotland.*

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

Lest Mr. Secretary† should be come away before the delivery of this packet, I have thought fit to direct it to

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† Sir Thomas Lake; his collegue, Secretary Winwood, died October 27, 1617; and Sir Robert Naunton succeeded to the post of secretary, January 8, 1617-8, from that of surveyor of the Court of Wards.

your lordship, with this letter to your lordship about the Court of Wards, and another to the lords from his majesty. Which is all I have now to write, but that I ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, the 7th of December, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Keeper.*

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your lordship's letter, who hath followed your directions therein, and written to the lords accordingly; which is all I have now to write to your lordship, but that I shall ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, the 9th of December, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*My Lord of Buckingham to your Lordship, shewing the King's liking of your opinion and choice of names for sub-commission.*

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Your lordship's letters patents† are ready. I would be glad to be one of the witnesses at the delivery; and therefore, if the king and your lordship will give me leave, I will bring it to-morrow at any hour shall be appointed.

Your Lordship's ever,

New Year's eve, 1617. FR. BACON.

I was bold to send your lordship, for your new year's gift, a plain cap of essay, in token that if your lordship in any thing shall make me your sayman, I will be hurt before your lordship shall be hurt. I present therefore to you my best service, which shall be my all-year's gift.

To the Earl of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Sir George Chaworth and I am agreed, so that now I shall retain the grace of my place, and yet he rewarded. The king hath no ill bargain; for he hath four times as much as he was offered by Sir George of increase; and yet I take upon me to content my servants, and to content him. Nevertheless, I shall think myself pleasured by his majesty, and

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† For the title of Marquis of Buckingham to himself and the male heirs of his body.

do acknowledge, that your lordship hath dealt very honourably and nobly with me.

I send inclosed a letter, whereby your lordship signifieth his majesty's pleasure to me; and I shall make the warrant to Mr. Attorney. I desire it may be carried in privateness.

I ever rest Your Lordship's true Friend
and devoted Servant,

This New Year's eve, 1617. Fr. Bacon.

To Sir James Fullerton.*

I presume to send his highness this pair of small candlesticks, that his light, and the light of his posterity upon the church and commonwealth may never fail. I pray you do me the favour to present it to his highness, with my best and humblest service.

Your most affectionate and assured Friend,
Fr. Bacon, C. S.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

I have heretofore recommended unto your lordship the determination of the cause between Sir Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton,‡ who I understand, did both agree, being before your lordship, upon the values of the whole lands. And as your lordship hath already made so good an entrance into the business, I doubt not but you will be as noble in furthering the full agreement between the parties: whereunto I am informed, Sir Rowland Egerton is very forward, offering on his part, that which to me seemeth very reasonable, either to divide the lands, and his adverse party to choose; or the other to divide, and he to choose. Whereupon my desire to your lordship is, that you would accordingly make a final end between them, in making a division, and setting forth the lands according to the values agreed upon by the parties themselves. Wherein, besides

* He had been surveyor of the lands to Prince Charles, when Duke of York; and was groom of the stole to him when King. He died in January, 1630-1.

† Sir Francis Bacon had that title given him January 4.

‡ This was one of the causes mentioned in the charge of the house of commons against the Lord Bacon; in his answer to which, he acknowledged that some days after perfecting his award, which was done with the advice and consent of the Lord Chief Justice Hobart, and publishing it to the parties, he received three hundred pounds of Mr. Edward Egerton, by whom, soon after his coming to the seal, he had likewise been presented with four hundred pounds in a purse.

the charitable work your lordship shall do in making an end of a controversy between those, whom name and blood should tie together and keep in unity, I will acknowledge your favour as unto myself, and will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Theobalds, the 9th of January, 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chamberlain.*

My honourable Lord,

His majesty having given order to Mr. Solicitor† to acquaint your lordship with a business touching alehouses,‡ that upon consideration thereof you might certify your opinion unto his majesty, whether it be fit to be granted or not; I have thought fit to desire your lordship to give it what favour and furtherance you may, if you find it reasonable, and not prejudicial to his majesty's service, because it concerneth Mr. Patrick Maule, and my brother, Christopher Villiers, whose benefit I have reason to wish and advance by any just courses. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Royston, the 11th of Jan. 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chamberlain.§

My honourable Lord,

Sir John Cotton‖ having acquainted me with a petition he intended to exhibit to his majesty, that without any apparent fault committed by him, he was put from his office of *custos rotulorum;* I have persuaded him to forbear the presenting of his petition until I had written to your lordship, and received your answer. I have therefore thought fit to signify unto your lordship, that he is a gentleman of whom his majesty maketh good esteem, and hath

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006. † Sir Thomas Coventry.

‡ The Lord Chancellor, in his letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated January 25, 1617, printed in his works, has the following passage: "For the suit of the alehouses, which concerneth your brother, Mr. Christopher Villiers, and Mr. Patrick Maule, I have conferred with my Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Solicitor thereupon, and there is a scruple in it, that it should be one of the grievances put down in parliament: which if it be, I may not in my duty and love to you, advise you to deal in it; if it be not, I will mould in the best manner, and help it forward." A patent for licensing alehouses being afterwards granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchel, and greatly abused by them, they were punished for those abuses by the parliament, which met January 30, 1620-1.

§ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

‖ Of Landwade, in Cambridgeshire, knight. He served many years as knight of the shire for that county, and died in 1620, at the age of seventy-seven. His eldest son, Sir John Cotton, was created a baronet, July 14, 1641.

often occasion to use his service; and, therefore, besides that he is a man of good years, and hath served long in the place, I know his majesty, out of these respects, will be loth he should receive any disgrace. I desire, therefore, to understand from your lordship the reasons of his remove, that, if I cannot give satisfaction to the gentleman himself, I may at least make answer to his majesty for that act of your lordship's, which is alleged to be very unusual, unless upon some precedent misdemeanour of the party. Thus, having in this point discharged my part in taking the best course I could, that no complaint should come against you to the king, I rest

Your lordship's faithful Friend,

Newmarket the 16th of January, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General.

Mr. Attorney,

Whereas there dependeth before me in Chancery a great cause of tithes concerning the benefices of London, though in a particular, yet, by consequence, leading to a general; his majesty, out of a great and religious care of the state, both of church and city, is graciously pleased, that before any judicial sentence be pronounced in Chancery, there be a commission directed unto me, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Lord Chamberlain; and likewise to the Lord Archbishop, the Lord Bishop of Winchester,* and the Bishop of Ely,† and also to the Master of the Rolls,‡ the two Lord Chief Justices,§ Justice Dodderidge, and Justice Hutton, who formerly assisted me in the cause, to treat of some concord, in a reasonable moderation, between the ministers and the mayor and the commonalty of London in the behalf of the citizens; and to make some pact and transaction between them by consent, if it may be; or otherwise to hear and certify their opinions touching the cause, that thereupon his majesty may take such farther order, by directing of a proceeding in Chancery, or by some other course, as to his wisdom shall seem fit.

You will have care to draw the commission with some preface of honour to his majesty, and likewise to insert in the beginning of the commission that it was *de advisamento cancellarii* (as it was indeed) lest it should seem to be taken from the court. So I commit you to God's &c.

January 19, 1617. FR. BACON, Canc.

* Dr. James Montagu. † Dr. Lancelot Andrews, ‡ Sir Julius Cæsar.
§ Sir Henry Montagu of the King's Bench, and Sir Henry Hobart of the Common Pleas.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I do not easily fail towards gentlemen of quality to disgrace them. For I take myself to have some interest in the good wills of the gentlemen of England, which I keep and cherish for his majesty's special service. And for this gentleman, of whom you write, Sir John Cotton, I know no cause in the world why I should have displaced him, but that it was certified unto me, that it was his own desire to resign: wherein if I was abused, I will restore him. But if he did consent, and, now it is done, changeth his mind, then I would be loth to disgrace the other, that is come in. Therefore I pray your lordship, that I may know and be informed from himself what passed touching his consent; and I will do him reason.

Thus, with my thanks to your lordship, I will ever rest

Your Lordship's true Friend and most devoted Servant,

January 20, 1617. FR. BACON, Canc.

Indorsed—*To the Marquis of Buckingham, concerning Sir John Cotton's resigning the place of Custos Rotulorum of Cambridgeshire.*

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I thank your lordship for your favour to Sir George Tipping, in giving liberty unto him to make his appearance before you after the holidays, at my request; who, as I understand by some friends of mine, who moved me to recommend him to your lordship's favour, is willing to conform himself in performance of the decree made in the Chancery by your lordship's predecessor; but that he is persuaded, that presently, upon the performance thereof, his son will make away the land, that shall be conveyed unto him: which being come to Sir George from his ancestors, he desireth to preserve to his posterity. I desire your lordship's farther favour therefore unto him, that you will find out some course, how he may be exempted from that fear of the sale of his lands, whereof he is ready to acknowledge a fine to his son, and to his heirs by Anne Pigot; and, they failing, to his son's heirs males, and, for want thereof, to any of his son's or brethren's heirs males, and so to the heirs general of his father and himself by lineal descent, and the remainder to the crown. This offer, which seemeth

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

very reasonable, and for his majesty's advantage, I desire your lordship to take into your consideration, and to shew him what favour you may for my sake; which I will readily acknowledge, and ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Newmarket, the 23rd of January, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

Since I received your lordship's letter, Sir Lionel Cranfield being here, hath informed his majesty of the whole proceeding in his business of the household; which his majesty liketh very well, and is glad it is approved by your lordship, of whose care and pains therein he receiveth very good satisfaction.

In the business touching Sir John Cotton, your lordship dealeth as nobly as can be desired; and so, if it should come in question before his majesty, I would answer in your behalf. I leave Sir John Cotton to inform your lordship by his letter of the business, and ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Newmarket, the 24th of January, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I have been intreated by a gentleman, whom I much respect, to recommend to your lordship's favour Mr. John Huddy, between whom and Mr. Richard Huddy there is, as I am informed, a cause to be heard before your lordship in the Chancery on Saturday next. My desire unto your lordship is, that you would shew the said John Huddy what favour you lawfully may, and as his cause will bear, when it cometh before you, for my sake. Which I will not fail to acknowledge, ever resting

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Newmarket, the 28th of January, 1617. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I understand, that his majesty hath been pleased to refer a suit unto him by two of his servants, Robert Maxwell and John Hunt, for the making of sheriffs and escheators' patents, to your lordship's consideration. My desire unto your

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

lordship on their behalf is, that you would shew them thus much favour for my sake, as with as much expedition as may be, and your lordship's other occasions may permit, to certify your opinion thereof unto his majesty; which I will be ready to acknowledge, and ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Newmarket, the 4th day of February, 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

Though I had resolved not to write to your lordship in any matter between party and party; yet at the earnest request of my noble friend, the Lord Norris, to whom I account myself much beholden, I could not but recommend unto your lordship's favour a special friend of his, Sir Thomas Monk, who hath a suit before your lordship in the Chancery † with Sir Robert Bassett; which, upon the report made unto me thereof, seemeth so reasonable, that I doubt not but the cause itself will move your lordship to favour him, if, upon the hearing thereof, it shall appear the same unto your lordship, as at the first sight it doth unto me. I therefore desire your lordship to shew in this particular what favour you lawfully may, for my sake, who will account it as done unto myself; and will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Newmarket, the 4th day of Feb. 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I have sent inclosed a letter to his majesty about the public charge I am to give the last Star-chamber day, which is this day sevennight, to the judges and justices before the circuits. I pray deliver it to his majesty with speed. I send also some papers appertaining to that business, which I pray your lordship to have in readiness, if his majesty call for them. I ever rest

Your Lordship's true Friend
and devoted Servant,

February 6, 1617.

FR. BACON, Canc.

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† Lord Bacon was afterwards accused by the house of commons of having received of Sir Thomas Monk one hundred pieces; which he did not deny, but alleged, that it was after the suit was ended.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

His majesty marvelleth, that he heareth nothing of the business touching the gold and silver thread;† and therefore hath commanded me to write unto your lordship to hasten the dispatch of it; and to give him as speedy an account thereof as you can. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Newmarket, 7th of February.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—1617.

To the Lord Chancellor.‡

My honourable Lord,

I understand by this bearer, Edward Hawkins, how great pains your lordship hath taken in the business, which I recommended to you concerning him, and how favourably your lordship hath used him for my sake. For which I give your lordship many thanks, and will be ever ready to acknowledge your favour toward him by all the testimonies of

Your Lordship's faithful Friend,

Theobalds the 12th of February, 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.§

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your letter, who liketh well of the course you mention in the end of your letter, and will speak with you farther of it at his return to London. In the mean time, he would have your lordship give direction to the Master of the Rolls‖ and Mr. Attorney¶ to stay the examination. And so I rest

Your Lordship's most assured to do you service,

Hampton Court, the 18th of March, 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.**

My Lord Chancellor,

I will not have you account the days of my not answering your letter. It is a thing imposed upon the multitude of my business to lodge many things faithfully, though I make no present return.

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† A patent for the monopoly of which was granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchel, who were punished for the abuse of that patent by the parliament, which met January 30, 1620-1.

‡ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006. § Ibid.

‖ Sir Julius Cæsar. ¶ Sir Henry Yelverton.

** Dr. Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, who died April 10, 1619.

Your conjunction and good understanding with the deputy I approve and commend; for I ever loved intire and good compositions, which was the old physic, better than fine separations.

Your friendly attributes I take as effects of affection; which must be causes of any good offices, wherewith I can requite you.

We conceive that kingdom is in growth. God send soundness to the increase; wherein I doubt not but your lordship will do your part. God keep you.

York House, April 15, 1618. Your Lordship's very loving Friend,
FR. BACON, Canc.

To the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.*

My Lord Chief Justice,

I thank you for your letter, and assure you, that you are not deceived, neither in the care I have of the public in that state, nor in my good wishes, and the effects thereof, when it shall lie in my power towards yourself.

I am glad to receive your testimony of my Lord Deputy, both because I esteem your judgment, and because it concurreth with my own.

The materials of that kingdom, which is trade and wealth, grow on apace. I hope the form, which giveth the best living of religion and justice, will not be behind, the rather by you, as a good instrument. I rest

Your Lordship's assured Friend,

York House * * of April, 1618. FR. BACON, Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

Understanding that there is a suit depending before your lordship between Sir Rowland Cotton,‡ plaintiff, and Sir John Gawen, defendant, which is shortly to come to a hearing; and having been likewise informed that Sir Rowland Cotton hath undertaken it in behalf of certain

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* Sir William Jones, to whom, upon his being called to that post, the Lord Keeper made a speech, printed in his works.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006,

‡ A gentleman eminent for his learning, especially in the Hebrew language, in which he had been instructed by the famous Hugh Broughton, who died in 1612. He was son of Mr. William Cotton, citizen and draper of London, and had an estate at Bellaport in Shropshire, where he resided till he came to live at London at the request of Sir Allen Cotton, his father's younger brother, who was Lord Mayor of that city in 1625. Sir Rowland was the first patron of the learned Dr. Lightfoot, and encouraged him in the prosecution of his studies of the Hebrew language and antiquities.

poor people; which charitable endeavour of his, I assure myself, will find so good acceptation with your lordship, that there shall be no other use of recommendation: yet, at the earnest request of some friends of mine, I have thought fit to write to your lordship in his behalf, desiring you to shew him what favour you lawfully may, and the cause may bear, in the speedy dispatch of his business; which I shall be ever ready to acknowledge, and rest

Your Lordship's most devoted to serve you,

Whitehall, the 20th day of Apr. 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I will not go about to excuse mine own fault, by making you believe his majesty was backward in your business; but upon the first motion he gave me directions for it, which it was my negligence, as I freely confess, that I have no sooner performed, having not been slack in moving his majesty, but in dispatching your man. All is done which your lordship desired; and I will give order, according to his majesty's directions, so that your lordship shall not need to trouble yourself any farther, but only to expect the speedy performance of his majesty's gracious pleasure.

I will take the first opportunity to acquaint his majesty with the other business, and will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Theobalds, the 8th of May [1618]. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable good Lord,

Whereas in Mr. Hansbye's cause,‡ which formerly, by my means, both his majesty and myself recommended to your lordship's favour, your lordship thought good, upon a hearing thereof, to decree some part for the young gentleman, and to refer to some masters of the Chancery, for your farther satisfaction, the examination of witnesses to this point; which seemed to your lordship to be the main thing your lordship doubted of, whether or no the leases,

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006. † Ibid.

‡ This seems to be one of the causes on account of which Lord Bacon was afterwards accused by the house of commons; in answer to whose charge he admits, that in the cause of Sir Ralph Hansbye, there being two decrees, one for the inheritance, and the other for goods and chattels, some time after the first decree, and before the second, there was five hundred pounds delivered to him by Mr. Tobie Matthew; nor could his lordship deny that this was upon the matter *pendente lite*.

conveyed by old Hansbye to young Hansbye by deed, were to be liable to the legacies which he gave by will; and that now I am credibly informed, that it will appear upon their report, and by the depositions of witnesses, without all exception, that the said leases are no way liable to those legacies: these shall be earnestly to intreat your lordship, that upon consideration of the report of the masters, and depositions of the witnesses, you will, for my sake, shew as much favour and expedition to young Mr. Hansbye in this cause as the justness thereof will permit. And I shall receive it at your lordship's hands as a particular favour.

So I take my leave of your lordship, and rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Greenwich, the 12th of June, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

Understanding that the cause depending in the Chancery between the Lady Vernon and the officers of his majesty's household is now ready for a decree, though I doubt not but as his majesty hath been satisfied of the equity of the cause on his officers' behalf, who have undergone the business by his majesty's command, your lordship will also find their cause worthy of your favour, yet I have thought fit once again to recommend it to your lordship, desiring you to give them a speedy end of it, that both his majesty may be freed from farther importunity, and they from the charge and trouble of following it; which I will be ever ready to acknowledge as a favour done unto myself, and always rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Greenwich, the 15th day of June, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

I wrote unto your lordship lately in the behalf of Sir Rowland Cotton, that then had a suit in dependance before your lordship and the rest of my lords in the Star-chamber. The cause, I understand, hath gone contrary to his expectation; yet he acknowledges himself much bound to your lordship for the noble and patient hearing he did then receive; and he rests satisfied, and I much beholden to your lordship, for any favour it pleased your lordship to afford him for my cause. It now rests only in your lord-

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006. † Ibid.

ship's power for the assessing of costs; which, because I am certainly informed Sir Rowland Cotton had just cause of complaint, I hope your lordship will not give any against him. And I do the rather move your lordship to respect him in it, because it concerns him in his reputation, which I know he tenders, and not the money, which might be imposed upon him; which can be but a trifle. Thus presuming of your lordship's favour herein, which I shall be ready ever to account to your lordship for, I rest

Your Lordship's most devoted to serve you,

June 19, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

Whereas it hath pleased his majesty to recommend unto your consideration a petition exhibited by Mr. Fowle, together with the grievances and request for the rectifying of the work of gold and silver thread; and now understandeth that your lordship hath called unto you the other commissioners in that case, and spent some time to hear what the opposers could object, and perceiveth by a relation of a good entrance you have made into the business; and is now informed, that there remaineth great store of gold and silver thread in the merchants' hands, brought from foreign parts, besides that which is brought in daily by stealth, and wrought here by underhand workers; so that the agents want vent, with which inconveniencies it seemeth the ordinary course of law cannot so well meet; and yet they are inforced, for freeing of clamour, to set great numbers of people on work; so that the commodity lying dead in their hands, will in a very short time grow to a very great sum of money. To the end, therefore, that the undertakers may not be disheartened by these wrongs and losses, his majesty hath commanded me to write unto your lordship, to the end you might bestow more time this vacation in prosecuting the course you have so worthily begun, that all differences being reconciled, the defects of the commission may be also amended, for prevention of farther abuses therein; so as the agents may receive encouragement to go on quietly in the work without disturbance. And I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

From Bewly, the 20th day of Aug. 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

To the Lord Chancellor.

Most honourable Lord,

Herewithal I presumed to send a note inclosed, both of my business in Chancery, and with my Lord Roos, which it pleased your lordship to demand of me, that so you might better do me good *in utroque genere*. It may please your lordship, after having perused it, to commend it over to the care of Mr. Meautys for better custody.

At my parting last from your lordship, the grief I had to leave your lordship's presence, though but for a little time, was such, as that being accompanied with some small corporal indisposition that I was in, made me forgetful to say that, which now for his majesty's service I thought myself bound not to silence. I was credibly informed and assured, when the Spanish ambassador went away, that howsoever Ralegh and the prentices * should fall out to be proceeded withal, no more instances would be made hereafter on the part of Spain for justice to be done ever in these particulars: but that if slackness were used here, they would be laid up in the deck, and would serve for materials (this was the very word) of future and final discontentments. Now as the humour and design of some may carry them towards troubling of the waters, so I know your lordship's both nature and great place require an appeasing them at your hands. And I have not presumed to say this little out of any mind at all, that I may have, to meddle with matters so far above me, but out of a thought I had, that I was tied in duty to lay thus much under your lordship's eye; because I know and consider of whom I heard that speech, and with how grave circumstances it was delivered.

I beseech Jesus to give continuance and increase to your lordship's happiness; and that, if it may stand with his will, myself may one day have the honour of casting some small mite into that rich treasury. So I humbly do your lordship reverence, and continue

The most obliged of your Lordship's
many faithful Servants,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

Nottingham, this 21st of August, 1618.

* Who on the 12th of July, 1618, had insulted Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, on account of a boy's being hurt by him as he was riding. [*Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I.* p. 33.] They were proceeded against by commissioners at Guildhall on Wednesday the 12th of August following; seven being found guilty, and adjudged to six months' imprisonment, and to pay five hundred pounds apiece. Two others were acquitted. *MS. letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, August* 15, 1618.

To Mr. (afterwards Sir) Isaac Wake, his Majesty's Agent at the Court of Savoy.

Mr. Wake,

I have received some letters from you; and hearing from my Lord Cavendish* how well he affects you, and taking notice also of your good abilities and services in his majesty's affairs, and not forgetting the knowledge I had, when young, of your good father,† I thought myself in some measure tied not to keep from you my good opinion of you, and my desire to give you any furtherance in your fortunes and occasions, whereof you may take knowledge and liberty to use me for your good. Fare you well.

Your very loving Friend,

York House, this 1st of Sept. 1618. FR. VERULAM,‡ Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.§

My honourable Lord,

His majesty is desirous to be satisfied of the fitness and conveniency of the gold and silver thread business; as also of the profit that shall any way accrue unto him thereby. Wherefore his pleasure is, that you shall, with all convenient speed, call unto you the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench,‖ the attorney-general,¶ and the solicitor,** and consider with them of every of the said particulars, and return them to his majesty, that thereupon he may resolve what present course to take for the advancement of the execution thereof. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Theobalds, the 4th of Octob. 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.††

My honourable Lord,

I have been desired by some friends of mine, in the behalf of Sir Francis Englefyld, to recommend his cause so far unto your lordship, that a peremptory day being given by your lordship's order for the perfecting of his account, and for the assignment of the trust, your lordship

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* William Cavendish, son and heir of William, created Baron Cavendish Hardwicke in Derbyshire, in May, 1605, and Earl of Devonshire, July 12, 1618.

† Arthur Wake, rector of Billing in Northamptonshire, master of the Hospital of St. John in Northampton, and canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

‡ He had been created Lord Verulam on the 12th of July, 1618.

§ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

‖ Sir Henry Montagu.

¶ Sir Henry Yelverton.

** Sir Thomas Coventry.

†† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

would take such course therein, that the gentleman's estate may be redeemed from farther trouble, and secured from all danger, by engaging those, to whom the trust is now transferred by your lordship's order, to the performance of that whereunto he was tied. And so not doubting but your lordship will do him what lawful favour you may herein, I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*Received October*, 14, 1618.

To the King, concerning the form and manner of proceeding against Sir Walter Ralegh.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

According to your commandment given unto us, we have, upon divers meetings and conferences, considered what form and manner of proceeding against Sir Walter Ralegh might best stand with your majesty's justice and honour, if you shall be pleased, that the law shall pass upon him.

And, first, we are of opinion, that Sir Walter Ralegh being attainted of high-treason (which is the highest and last work of law,) he cannot be drawn in question judicially for any crime or offence since committed. And therefore we humbly present two forms of proceeding to your majesty: the one, that together with the warrant to the lieutenant of the Tower (if your majesty shall so please) for his execution, to publish a narrative in print of his late crimes and offences; which, albeit your majesty is not bound to give an account of your actions in these cases to any but only to God alone, we humbly offer to your majesty's consideration, as well in respect of the great effluxion of time since his attainder, and of his employment by your majesty's commission, as for that his late crimes and offences are not yet publicly known. The other form (whereunto, if your majesty so please, we rather incline) is, that where your majesty is so renowned for your justice, it may have such a proceeding, as is nearest to legal proceeding; which is, that he be called before the whole body of your council of state, and your principal judges, in your council-chamber; and that some of the nobility and gentlemen of quality be admitted to be present to hear the whole proceeding, as in like cases

* He was beheaded October 29, 1618, the day of the inauguration of the Lord Mayor of London.

hath been used. And after the assembly of all these, that some of your majesty's counsellors of state, that are best acquainted with the case, should openly declare, that this form of proceeding against Sir Walter is holden, for that he is civilly dead. After this your majesty's council learned to charge his acts of hostility, depredation, abuse as well of your majesty's commission, as of your subjects under his charge, impostures, attempt of escape, and other his misdemeanours. But for that, which concerns the French, wherein he was rather passive than active, and without which the charge is complete, we humbly refer to your majesty's consideration, how far that shall be touched. After which charge so given, the examinations read, and Sir Walter heard, and some to be confronted against him, if need be, then he is to be withdrawn and sent back; for that no sentence is, or can be, given against him. And after he is gone, then the lords of the council and judges to give their advice to your majesty, whether in respect of these subsequent offences, upon the whole matter, your majesty, if you so please, may not with justice and honour give warrant for his execution upon his attainder. And of this whole proceeding we are of opinion, that a solemn act of council should be made, with a memorial of the whole presence. But before this be done, that your majesty may be pleased to signify your gracious direction herein to your council of state; and that your council learned, before the calling of Sir Walter, should deliver the heads of the matter, together with the principal examinations touching the same, wherewith Sir Walter is to be charged, unto them, that they may be perfectly informed of the true state of the case, and give their advice accordingly. All which nevertheless we, in all humbleness, present and submit to your princely wisdom and judgment, and shall follow whatsoever it shall please your majesty to direct us herein, with all dutiful readiness.

York House, this 18th of October, 1618.

Your Majesty's most humble and faithful Servants, &c.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

Whereas there is a cause depending in the Court of Chancery between one Mr. Francis Foliambe and Francis Hornsby, the which already hath received a decree, and is now to have another hearing before yourself; I have thought fit to desire you to shew so much favour therein, seeing it

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

concerns the gentleman's whole estate, as to make a full arbitration and final end, either by taking the pains in ending it yourself, or preferring it to some other, whom your lordship shall think fit: which I shall acknowledge as a courtesy from your lordship; and ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Hinchingbroke, the 22nd of October, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I send the commission for making Lincoln's Inn Fields into walks for his majesty's signature. It is without charge to his majesty.

We have had my Lord of Ormonde* before us. We could not yet get him to answer directly, whether he would obey the king's award or no. After we had endured his importunity and impertinences, and yet let him down to this, that his majesty's award was not only just and within his submission, but in his favour; we concluded in few words, that the award must be obeyed, and if he did refuse or impugn the execution of it in Ireland, he was to be punished by the justice of Ireland: if he did murmur or scandalize it here, or trouble his majesty any more, he was to be punished in England. Then he asked, whether he might be gone. For that, we told him, his majesty's pleasure was to be known.

Sir Robert Mansell hath promised to bring his summer account this day sevennight. God preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend and faithful Servant,

November 12, 1618. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

I send your lordship the commission signed by his majesty, which he was very willing to dispatch as a business very commendable and worthy to be taken in hand.

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* Walter, Earl of Ormonde, grandfather of James, the first Duke of Ormonde. This Earl, upon the death of Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, succeeding to those honours, should have inherited likewise the greatest part of the estate: but his right was contested by Sir Richard Preston, Lord Dingwell, supported by the favour of King James I., who made an award, which Walter, Earl of Ormonde, conceiving to be unjust, refused to submit to, and was, by the king's order, committed to the Fleet, where he remained eight years before the death of that king; but in 1625 recovered his liberty.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

For the Earl of Ormonde, his majesty made no other answer, but that he hopeth he is not so unmannerly, as to go away without taking leave of his majesty.

For Sir Robert Mansell's account, his majesty saith he is very slow, especially being but a summary account, and that he promised to bring it in before: and therefore would have him tied to the day he hath now set, without any farther delay.

This last his majesty commanded me to put in after I had written and signed my letter.

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Royston, the 13th of November, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

Having formerly moved your lordship in the business of this bearer, Mr. Wyche, of whom, as I understand, your lordship hath had a special care to do him favour, according to the equity of his cause; now seeing that the cause is shortly to be heard, I have thought fit to continue my recommendation of the business unto you, desiring your lordship to shew what favour you lawfully may unto Mr. Wyche, according as the justness of the cause shall require: which I will acknowledge as a courtesy from your lordship, and ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, the 18th of November, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I send your lordship the bill of the Sheriff of Hereford and Leicester, pricked and signed by his majesty, who hath likewise commanded me to send unto your lordship these additions of instructions, sent unto him by the surveyor and receiver of the Court of Wards; wherein, because he knoweth not what to prescribe without understanding what objections can be made, his pleasure is, that your lordship advise and consider of them, and send him your opinion of them, that he may then take such course therein, as shall be fit.

His majesty commanded me to give you thanks for your care of his service; and so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Newmarket, 22d of November. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—1618.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

We have put the *Declaration* * touching Ralegh to the press with his majesty's additions, which were very material, and fit to proceed from his majesty.

For the prisoners, we have taken an account, given a charge, and put some particulars in examination for punishment and example.

For the pursuivants, we staid a good while for Sir Edward Coke's health; but he being not yet come abroad, we have entered into it; and we find faults, and mean to select cases for example: but in this swarm of priests and recusants we are careful not to discourage in general. But the punishment of some, that are notoriously corrupt, concerned not the good, and will keep in awe those that are but indifferent.

The balance of the king's estate is in hand, whereof I have great care, but no great help.

The sub-committees for the several branches of treasure are well chosen and charged.

This matter of the king's estate for means is like a quarry, which digs and works hard; but then, when I consider it buildeth, I think no pains too much; and after term it shall be my chief care.

For the Mint, by my next I will give account; for our day is Wednesday.

God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's,

November 22, 1618. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Indorsed—*Of council business.*

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

I having understood by Dr. Steward, that your lordship hath made a decree against him in the Chancery, which he thinks very hard for him to perform; although I know it is unusual to your lordship to make any alterations, when things are so far past: yet in regard I owe him a good turn, which I know not now how to perform but this way, I desire your lordship, if there be any place left for mitigation, your lordship would shew him what favour you may, for my sake,

* "Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in and since his Return, &c." printed at London, 1618, in 4to.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

in his desires, which I shall be ready to acknowledge as a great courtesy done unto myself; and will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, the 2nd of Decemb. 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I have written a letter unto your lordship, which will be delivered unto you in behalf of Dr. Steward; and besides, have thought fit to use all freedom with you in that, as in other things; and therefore have thought fit to tell you, that he being a man of very good reputation, and a stout man, that will not yield to any thing, wherein he conceiveth any hard course against him, I should be sorry he should make any complaint against you. And therefore, if you can advise of any course, how you may be eased of that burden, and freed from his complaint, without shew of any fear of him, or any thing he can say, I will be ready to join with you for the accomplishment thereof: and so desiring you to excuse the long stay of your man, I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

From Newmarket, 3d of December, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Yesternight we dispatched the Lord Ridgeway's account. Good service is done. Seven or eight thousand pounds are coming to the king, and a good precedent set for accounts.

There came to the seal about a fortnight since a strange book passed by Mr. Attorney to one Mr. Hall; and it is to make subjects (for so is denization,) and this to go to a private use, till some thousand pounds be made of it. The number one hundred denizens. And whereas all books of that nature had an exception of merchants (which importeth the king not much in his customs only, for that is provided for in the book, but many other ways) this takes in merchants and all. I acquainted the commissioners with it, and by one consent it is stayed. But let me counsel his majesty to grant forth a commission of this nature, so to raise money for himself, being a flower of the crown: and Hall may be rewarded out of it; and it would be to prin-

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

cipal persons, that it may be carried with election and discretion, whom to admit to denization, and whom not. God ever bless and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most faithful
December 8, 1618. and obliged Friend and Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I thank your lordship for the favour, which I understand Sir Francis Englefyld hath received from your lordship upon my last letter, whereunto I desire your lordship to add this one favour more (which is the same that I understand your lordship granted him at Christmas last) to give him liberty for the space of a fortnight, to follow his business in his own person; whereby he may bring it to the more speedy end, putting in security according to the ordinary course, to render himself prisoner again as soon as that time is expired: which is all that I desire for him, and in which I will acknowledge your lordship's favour towards him; and ever rest Your Lordship's

faithful Friend and Servant,
Newmarket, the 10th of December, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I send you herewith the copy of a letter which we, the commissioners for Ormonde's cause, have written to the deputy of Ireland, according to his majesty's pleasure signified by Sir Francis Blundell; which I humbly desire his majesty would peruse, that if it do not attain his meaning, as we conveyed it, we may second it with a new letter.

We have appointed Monday morning for these mint businesses, referred by his majesty to certain commissioners, and we will carry it *sine strepitu.*

The patent touching Guinea and Bynny for the trade of gold, stayed first by myself, and after by his majesty's commandment, we have now settled by consent of all parties.

Mr. Attorney, by my direction hath made, upon his information exhibited into the Star-chamber, a thundering motion against the transportation of gold by the Dutch; which all the town is glad of; and I have granted divers writs of *ne exeat regnum*, according to his majesty's warrant.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

Sir Edward Coke keeps in still, and we have miss of him; but I supply it as I may by my farther diligence. God ever bless you and keep you.

Your Lordship's most faithful and
bounden Friend and Servant,

December 11, 1618. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

I forget not your doctor's* matter. I shall speak with him to-day, having received your lordship's letter; and what is possible shall be done. I pray pardon my scribbling in haste.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your letters, who is very well pleased with your care of his service, in making stay of the grant of denizens upon the reason you allege, whereof his majesty will speak farther with you at his return.

The letter, which you sent me about my Lord of Ormonde's son, is not according to his majesty's meaning; but I would have you frame another to my lord deputy to this purpose: "That his majesty having seen a letter of his to Sir Francis Blundell, advertising, that the Earl of Ormonde's son, and some other of his kindred, did victual and fortify their houses; his majesty hath thereupon commanded you to write unto him, that if the ground of his information be true (which he may best know,) that then he send for the said earl's son, and the principal of his kindred to appear before him: and if they appear, and give him satisfaction, it is well; but if they refuse to appear, or give him not satisfaction though they appear; that then he assemble what forces he can, be they never so few, and go against them, that he may crush the rebellion in the egg."

I have remembered his majesty, as I promised your lordship, about the naming you for a commissioner to treat with the Hollanders: but besides that you have so many businesses, both of the Star-chamber, and others in the term-time, when this must be attended as well as in the vacation, whereby this would be either too great a toil to you, or a hindrance to his majesty's service; he thinketh it could not stand with the honour of your place to be balanced with those that are sent from the state, so far unequal to his

* Steward's. See above, p. 362, 3.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

majesty, and being themselves none of the greatest of the state. Therefore his majesty holdeth it not fit or worthy of you to put you into such an employment, in which none of your predecessors, or any of the chief counsellors, have been ever used in this kind, but only in a treaty of marriage or conclusion of a peace; as when the constable of Castile was here, when the commissioners on both sides had their authority under the great seal of either kingdom, with direct relation to their sovereigns, far differing from this commission, which is now given to these men, and whereunto his majesty is to frame the course of his. As for the part which concerneth Scotland, the choice hath not been made of the chancellor or archbishop of St. Andrew's, but of men nearer the rank of those that come hither to treat. As yet his majesty delayeth to give any commission at all, because he would first be informed from the lords, both of the points and form of their commission, which his majesty hitherto understandeth to be, with authority to over-rule and direct their merchants in what they shall think fit; which if it be so, then his majesty holdeth it fit for his part, to appoint the whole body of the council with like power over his merchants. As for me, I shall be ever ready upon any occasion to shew myself

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, the 14th of December, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lady Clifford.

My very good Lady and Cousin,

I shall not be wanting in any thing, that may express my good affection and wishes towards your ladyship, being so near unto me, and the daughter of a father, to whom I was in the passages of my fortune much obliged. So with my loving commendations, in the midst of business, I rest

Your affectionate Kinsman

York House, this 25th of January, 1618. and assured Friend,

FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

Lest my often writing may make your lordship conceive that this letter hath been drawn from you by importunity, I have thought fit, for preventing of any such conceit, to let your lordship know, that Sir John Wentworth, whose

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

business I now recommend, is a gentleman whom I esteem in more than an ordinary degree. And therefore I desire your lordship to shew him what favour you can for my sake in his suit, which his majesty hath referred to your lordship: which I will acknowledge as a courtesy unto me, and rest Your Lordship's

faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, January 26, 1618. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I being desired by a special friend of mine to recommend unto your lordship's favour the case of this petitioner, have thought fit to desire you, for my sake, to shew him all the favour you may in this his desire, as you shall find it in reason to deserve; which I shall take as a courtesy from your lordship, and ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

I thank your lordship for your favour to Sir John Wentworth, in the dispatch of his business.

Newmarket, March 15, 1618.

To the Lord Chancellor.

Most honourable Lord,

It may please your lordship, there was with me this day one Mr. Richard White, who hath spent some little time at Florence, and is now gone into England. He tells me, that Galileo had answered your discourse concerning the flux and reflux of the sea, and was sending it unto me; but that Mr. White hindered him because his answer was grounded upon a false supposition, namely, that there was in the ocean a full sea but once in twenty-four hours. But now I will call upon Galileo again. This Mr. White is a discreet and understanding gentleman, though he seem a little soft, if not slow; and he hath in his hands all the works, as I take it, of Galileo, some printed, and some unprinted. He hath his discourse of the flux and reflux of the sea, which was never printed; as also a discourse of the mixture of metals. Those which are printed, in his hand are these: the *Nuncius sidereus;* the *Macchie solari*, and a third *Delle Cose, che stanno su l'acqua*, by occasion of a disputation, that was amongst learned men in Florence about that which Archimedes wrote, *de insidentibus humido.*

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

I have conceived that your lordship would not be sorry to see these discourses of that man; and therefore I have thought it belonging to my service to your lordship to give him a letter of this date, though it will not be there so soon as this. The gentleman hath no pretence or business before your lordship, but is willing to do your lordship all humble service; and therefore, both for this reason, as also upon my humble request, I beseech your lordship to bestow a countenance of grace upon him. I am beholden to this gentleman; and, if your lordship shall vouchsafe to ask him of me, I shall receive honour by it. And I most humbly do your lordship reverence.

Your Lordship's most obliged Servant,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

Brussels, from my bed,
the 14th of April, 1619.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

His majesty hath commanded me to signify unto your lordship, that it is his pleasure you put off the hearing of the cause between Sir Arthur Manwaring and Gabriel Dennis till toward the end of the term; because his majesty is graciously pleased to be at the hearing thereof himself. And so I rest

Your Lordship's
faithful Friend and Servant,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

Royston,
April 13, 1619.

To the Lord Chancellor, and Sir Lionel Tanfield, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.*

My Lords,

His majesty having been moved by the Duke of Savoy's ambassador in the behalf of Philip Bernardi, whom he is to send about some special employment over the seas to the Duke of Savoy, that before his going, the business mentioned in this petition may be ended, hath commanded me to recommend the same unto your lordship's care, that with all expedition the cause may be heard and ended by your lordships, according to his majesty's reference; or left to the determination of the Court of Chancery, where it is depending, and where the party assureth himself of a speedy end. And so I rest your Lordship's

very assured Friend at command,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

Royston, the 19th
of April, 1619.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I think fit to let your lordship understand what passed yesterday in the Star-chamber touching Suffolk's* business.

There came to me the clerk of the court in the inner chamber, and told me that my Lord of Suffolk desired to be heard by his council at the * sitting of the court, because it was pen * * * him.

I marvelled I heard not of it by Mr. Attorney, who should have let me know as much, that I might not be taken on the sudden in a cause of that weight.

I called presently Mr. Attorney to me, and asked him whether he knew of the motion, and what it was, and how he was provided to answer it. He signified to me, that my lord would desire to have the commission for examinations in Ireland to be returnable in Michaelmas term. I said it might not be, and presently drew the council then present, to me, and made Mr. Attorney repeat to them the passages past, and settled it, that the commission should be returnable the first day of the next term, and then republication granted, that it might, if accidents of wind and weather permit, come to hearing in the term. And upon motion in open court it was ordered accordingly.

God ever preserve and prosper you. I pray God this great easterly wind agree well with his majesty.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

May 6, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Indorsed—*Sent by Sir Gilbert Houghton.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I am much bounden to his majesty, and likewise to your lordship. I see by the late accesses I have had with his majesty, and now by his royal and real favour,† that he loveth me, and acknowledgeth me for the servant that I am, or desire to be. This in me must turn to a great alacrity to honour and serve him with a mind less troubled and divided. And for your lordship, my affection may and

* Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who had been made Lord Treasurer in 1614. He was accused of several misdemeanours in that office, together with his lady, and Sir John Bingley, her ladyship's agent; and an information preferred against them all in the Star-chamber.

† Probably the grant made to him about this time of twelve hundred pounds a year.

doth daily receive addition, but cannot, nor never could, receive alteration. I pray present my humble thanks to his majesty; and I am very glad his health confirmeth; and I hope to see him this summer at Gorhambury; there is sweet air as any is. God preserve and prosper you both.

I ever rest your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

May 9, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Minute of a Letter to the Count Palatine of the Rhine.

Monseigneur,

Je me tiens à grand honneur, qu'il plaise à vostre altesse de me cognoistre pour tel, que je suis, ou pour le moins voudrois estre, envers vous et vostre service: et m'estimeray heureux, si par mes conseils auprès du roy, ou autre devoir, je pourroy contribuer à vostre grandeur, dont il semble que Dieu vous a basti de belles occasions, ayant en contemplation vostre très-illustre personne, non seulement comme très-cher allié de mon maistre, mais aussi, comme le meilleur appui, après les roys de Grande Bretagne, de la plus saine partie de la chrestieneté.

Je ne puis aussi passer sous silence la grande raison, que vostre altesse fait à vostre propre honneur en choississant tels conseilleurs et ministres d'estat, comme se montre très-bien estre Monsieur le Baron de Dhona et Monsieur de Plessen, estants personages si graves, discrètes et habiles; en quoy vostre jugement reluict assez.

Vostre altesse de vostre grâce excusera la faulte de mon langage François, ayant esté tant versé es vielles loix de Normandie; mais le coeur supplera la plume, en priant Dieu de vous tenir en sa digne et saincte garde,

Monseigneur, de vostre Altesse le plus humble
et plus affectionné Serviteur.

Indorsed—*May* 13, 1619.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

His majesty was pleased, at the suit of some who have near relation to me, to grant a license for transportation of butter out of Wales unto one Lewis and Williams, who, in consideration that the patent should be passed in their names, entered into articles for the performance of certain

* Harl. MSS. vol. 7006.

conditions agreed upon between them, which, now that the patent is under the great seal, they utterly refuse to perform. My desire therefore to your lordship is, that you would call the said Lewis and Williams before you, with the other parties, or some of them, who shall be ready at all times to attend your lordship; and out of your consideration of the matter, according to equity, to take such course therein that either the said agreement may be performed; or that they which refuse it, may receive no benefit of the patent; which upon reason thereof was passed in their names. And herein I desire your lordship to make what expedition you can; because now is the season to make provision of the butter, that for this year is to be transported, whereof they take advantage to stand out. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Greenwich, May 14, 1619. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Though it be nothing, and all is but duty; yet I pray shew his majesty the paper inclosed, that his majesty may see how careful his poor servant is upon every emergent occasion to do him what honour he can. The motion made in court by the king's serjeant, Crew,* that the declaration might be made parcel of the record, and that I hear otherwise of the great satisfaction abroad, encourageth me to let his majesty know what passed.

God ever preserve and prosper you both.

Your Lordship's obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Indorsed—*June* 29, 1619. *My Lord to my Lord Marquis, inclosing the form of a declaration used in point of acknowledgment in the Lady Exeter's*† *cause.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I purposed to have seen you to-day, and receive your commandments before the progress; but I came not to London till it was late, and found you were gone before I

* Sir Randolph Crew, made Chief Justice of the King's Bench, January 26, 1624.

† Countess of Exeter, accused of incest and other crimes by the Lady Lake, wife of Secretary Lake, and their daughter the Lady Roos.

came. Nevertheless, I would not fail to let your lordship understand, that as I find every day more and more occasions whereby you bind me to you; so this morning the king of himself did tell me some testimony, that your lordship gave of me to his majesty even now, when you went from him, of so great affection and commendation (for I must ascribe your commendation to affection, being above my merit) as I must do contrary to that that painters do; for they desire to make the picture to the life, and I must endeavour to make the life to the picture, it hath pleased you to make so honourable a description of me. I can be but yours, and desire to better myself, that I may be of more worth to such an owner.

I hope to give the king a good account of my time this vacation.

If your lordship pass back by London, I desire to wait on you, and discourse a little with you: if not, my prayers shall go progress with you, and my letters attend you, as occasion serveth.

God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

July 19, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

This day, according to the first appointment, I thought to have waited upon his majesty, and to have given him an account of my cares and preparations for his service, which is my progress. And therefore, since his coming to Windsor is prolonged, I thought to keep day by letter, praying your lordship to commend my most humble service to his majesty, and to let him know, that since I see his majesty doth me the honour as to rely upon my care and service, I lose no time in that which may pertain thereunto. I see the straits, and I see the way out; and what lieth in one man, whom he hath made great, and trained, shall not be wanting. And I hope, if God give me life for a year or two, to give his majesty cause to think of me seven years after I am dead.

I am glad the time approacheth, when I shall have the happiness to kiss his majesty's hands, and to embrace your lordship, ever resting

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

York House, Aug. 28, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

His majesty, upon a petition delivered by Mr. Thomas Digby, wherein he complaineth of great wrongs done unto him, hath been pleased, for his more speedy relief and redress, if it prove as he allegeth, to refer the consideration thereof unto your lordship. And because he is a gentleman, whom I have long known and loved, I could not but add my desire to your lordship, that, if you find he hath been wronged, you would do him so much favour, as to give him such remedy as the equity of his case may require. For which I will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Royston, Octob. 8, 1619. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your letter, who hath given order to Mr. Secretary Calvert to signify his pleasure for the proceeding in that business, whereof you write, without any farther delay, as your lordship will more fully understand by Mr. Secretary, who for that purpose is to return to London against the day of hearing.

I have no answer to make to your former letter, and will add no more to this, but that his majesty hath a great confidence in your care of his service. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Royston, Octob. 10, 1619. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*Shewing his Majesty's acceptation of your Lordship's care, in particular in the business against the Earl of Suffolk.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

After my last letter yesterday we entered into conference touching the Suffolk cause, myself, and the commissioners, and the two Chief Justices.‡ The fruit of this conference is, that we all conceive the proceedings against my lord himself to be not only just and honourable, but in some principal parts plausible in regard of the public; as namely, those three points which touch upon the ordnance, the

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006. † Ibid.

‡ Sir Henry Montagu of the King's Bench, and Sir Henry Hobart of the Common Pleas.

army of Ireland, and the money of the cautionary towns; and the two Chief Justices are firm in it.

I did also in this cause, by the assent of my lords, remove a part; for Mr. Attorney had laid it upon Serjeant Davies* to open the information, which is that which gives much life or coldness to the cause. But I will have none but trained men in this cause; and I cannot forget that the allotting of the opening of the information in this cause of the Dutch (I mean the main cause) to a mean fellow, one Hughes, did hurt, and was never well recovered.

By my next I will write of the king's estate: and I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

October 14, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

This morning the duke† came to me, and told me the king's cause was yesterday left fair; and if ever there were a time for my Lord of Suffolk's submission, it was now; and that if my Lord of Suffolk should come into the court and openly acknowledge his delinquency, he thought it was a thing considerable. My answer was, I would not meddle in it; and, if I did, it must be to dissuade any such course; for that all would be but a play upon the stage, if justice went not on in the right course. This I thought it my duty to let the king know by your lordship.

I cannot express the care I have had of this cause in a number of circumstances and discretions, which, though they may seem but small matters, yet they do the business, and guide it right.

God ever keep your lordship.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

October 21, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I am doubly bounden to the king for his majesty's trust and acceptation; whereof the one I will never deceive; the other, though I cannot deserve, yet I will do my best, and perhaps as much as another man.

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* Sir John Davies, author of *Nosce teipsum*, knighted in February, 1607-8, and made serjeant at law in 1612. He had been attorney-general of Ireland.

† Lodowick, Duke of Lennox. He was created Duke of Richmond, May 17, 1623; and died February 11, 1623-4.

This day the evidence went well; for the solicitor* did his part substantially: and, a little to warm the business, when the misemployment of treasure, which had relation to the army of Ireland, I spake a word, that he that did draw or milk treasure from Ireland was handled, did not *emulgere*, milk money, but blood. But this is but one of the little things that I wrote of before.

The king, under pardon, must come hither with two resolutions; the one, to remit all importunity touching this cause to the lords in court of justice; the other, to pursue the designs first taken at Windsor, and then at Hampton Court, for his commission of treasury: wherein I do my part, and it is reasonably well; but better would it be if instruments were not impediments. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

October 27, Wednesday. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Friday will not end the business; for to-morrow will but go through with the king's evidence.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

This bearer, a Frenchman belonging to the ambassador, having put an Englishman in suit for some matters between them, is much hindered and molested by often removing of the cause from one court to another. Your lordship knows that the French are not acquainted with our manner of proceedings in the law, and must therefore be ignorant of the remedy in such a case. His course was to his majesty; but I thought it more proper that your lordship would be pleased to hear and understand this case from himself, and then to advise and take order for his relief, as your lordship in your wisdom shall think fit. So commending him to your honourable favour, I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Royston, 27th of October, 1619. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Your lordship shall do well to be informed of every particular, because his majesty will have account of it at his coming.

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* Sir Thomas Coventry, afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.
† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

To the Lord Chancellor.

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your letter, who commanded me to give your lordship thanks for your speed in advertising those things that pass, and for the great care he seeth you ever have of his service.

I send your lordship back the bill of sheriffs for Sussex, wherein his majesty hath pricked the first, as your lordship wished.

His majesty would not have you omit this opportunity of so gross an oversight in the judges, to admonish them of their negligence in suffering such a thing to come to his majesty, which needed his amending afterward; and withal, to let them know that his majesty observeth that every year they grow more and more careless of presenting fit men unto him for that place; and that you advise them to be more wary hereafter, that they may give his majesty better satisfaction. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Royston, November 14, 1619. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

This day afternoon, upon our meeting in council, we have planed those rubs and knots which were mentioned in my last, whereof I thought good presently to advertise his majesty. The days hold without all question, and all delays diverted and quieted.

Sir Edward Coke was at Friday's hearing, but in his nightcap; and complained to me he was ambulent, and not current. I would be sorry he should fail us in this cause. Therefore I desire his majesty to signify to him by your lordship (taking knowledge of some light indisposition of his) how much he should think his service disadvantaged in this cause, if he should be at any day away; for then he cannot sentence.

By my next I will give his majesty some account of the tobacco and the currants. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend and faithful Servant,

November 20, at evening, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I know well his majesty taketh to heart this business of the Dutch,* as he hath great reason, in respect both of honour and profit. And because my first letter was written in the epitasis, or trouble of the business; and my second in the beginning of the catastrophe, or calming thereof, (wherein nevertheless I was fain to bear up strongly into the weather, before the calm followed), and since every day hath been better and better, I thought good to signify so much, that his majesty may be less in suspense.

The great labour was to get entrance into the business; but now the portcullis is drawn up. And though, I must say, there were some blots in the tables, yet, by well playing, the game is good.

Rowland is passing well justified; for both his credit is by very constant and weighty testimony proved, and those vast quantities, which were thought incredible, or at least improbable, are now made manifest truth.

Yet I find a little of the old leven towards the first defendants, carried in this style and character: "I would this that appears now had appeared at first. But this cometh of haste and precipitation;" and the like. But yet, I hope, the corruption and practice upon the *ore tenus*, and the rectifying of Rowland's credit, will satisfy my lords upon the former proofs. For I would be very sorry that these new defendants (which, except one or two, are the smaller flies) should be in the net, and the old defendants, which are the greater flies, should get through. God preserve you.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

This November 26, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Indorsed—*Touching the Dutch business.*

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

I do, from time to time, acquaint his majesty with your letters, wherein he ever perceiveth your vigilant care in any thing that concerneth his service; and hath commanded me to give you thanks in his name, who is sure your

* Merchants, accused in the Star-chamber for exporting the gold and silver coin.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

endeavours will never be wanting, when any thing is to be done for the advancement of his affairs.

According to your lordship's advice, his majesty hath written to the commissioners of the treasury, both touching the currants and the tobacco,* the plantation whereof his majesty is fully resolved to restrain; and hath given them order forthwith to set out a proclamation to that effect; not intending in that point to stand upon any doubt of law, nor to expect the judges' interpretation; nor to allow any freehold in that case; but holding this the safest rule, *Salus reipublicæ suprema lex esto.* And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Newmarket, Nov. 27, 1619. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

I have presented both the submissions to his majesty. His answer is, he cannot alter that which was allowed of by the lords of the last Star-chamber-day, except first they be acquainted with it, and the consent of the Lady Exeter be likewise had, because the decree doth necessarily require it. So I rest

Your Lordship's humble Servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*Touching the submissions of Sir Thomas Lake and his Lady.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I acquainted this day the bearer with his majesty's pleasure touching Lake's‡ submission; which, whether it should be done in person or in writing, his majesty signified his will thus: that it should be spared in open court, if my Lady of Exeter should consent, and the board think fit. The board liked it well, and appointed my Lord Digby and Secretary Calvert to speak with my lady, who returned her answer in substance, that she would, in this and all things, be commanded by his majesty: but if his majesty left it to her liberty and election, she humbly prayed to be excused. And though it was told her, that this answer would be

* Lord Bacon, in his letter of November 22, 1619, mentions that there was offered two thousand pounds increase yearly for the tobacco, to begin at Michaelmas, as it now is, and three thousand pounds increase if the plantations here within land be restrained.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006. ‡ Sir Thomas Lake's.

cause, that it could not be performed this term; yet she seemed willing rather it should be delayed, than dispensed with.

This day also Traske,* in open court, made a retractation of his wicked opinions in writing. The form was as good as may be. I declared to him, that this court was the judgment-seat; the mercy-seat was his majesty: but the court would commend him to his majesty: and I humbly pray his majesty to signify his pleasure speedily, because of the misery of the man; and it is a rare thing for a sectary, that hath once suffered smart and shame, to turn so unfeignedly, as he seemed to do.

God ever bless and keep you.

Your most obliged Friend and faithful Servant,

December, 1, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

On Friday I left London, to hide myself at Kew; for two months and a half together to be strong-bent is too much for my bow. And yet, that the king may perceive, that in my times of leisure I am not idle, I took down with me Sir Giles Mompesson,† and with him I have quietly conferred of that proposition, which was given me in charge by his majesty, and after seconded by your lordship. Wherein I find some things I like very well, and some other, that I

* John Traske, a minister, who was prosecuted in the Star-chamber for maintaining, as we find mentioned in the Reports of the Lord Chief Justice Hobart, p. 236, that the Jewish Sabbath ought to be observed and not ours; and that we ought to abstain from all manner of swine's flesh, and those meats which the Jews were forbidden in Leviticus, according to Bishop Andrews, in his speech in the Star-chamber on that occasion, printed among his lordship's works. Mr. Traske being examined in that court, confessed, that he had divulged those opinions, and had laboured to bring as many to them as he could; and had also written a letter to the king, wherein he seemed to tax his majesty with hypocrisy, and expressly inveighed against the bishops high commissioners, as bloody and cruel in their proceedings against him, and a papal clergy. He was sentenced to fine and imprisonment, not for holding those opinions (for those were examinable in the Ecclesiastical Court, and not there,) but for making of conventicles and commotions, and for scandalizing the king, the bishops, and clergy. Dr. Fuller, in his *Church History of Britain*, book x. p. 77. § 64. mentions his having heard Mr. Traske preach, and remarks, that his *voice had more strength than any thing else he delivered;* and that after his recantation he relapsed, not into the same, but other opinions, *rather humorous than hurtful*, and died obscurely at Lambeth, in the reign of King Charles I.

† Who in the parliament, which began January 30, 1620-1, was sentenced to be degraded, and rendered incapable of bearing any office, for practising several abuses, in setting up new inns and alehouses, and exacting great sums of money of the people, by pretence of letters patents granted him for that purpose. But he fled into foreign parts, finding himself abandoned by the Marquis of Buckingham, on whom he had depended for protection.

would set by. And one thing is much to my liking, that the proposition for bringing in his majesty's revenue with small charge is no invention, but was on foot heretofore in King Philip's and Queen Mary's time, and had a grave and mighty opinion for it. The rest I leave to his relation, and mine own attendance.

I hope his majesty will look to it, that the fines now to come in may do him most good. Both causes produce fines of one hundred and fourscore thousand pounds, whereof one hundred thousand may clear the anticipations; and then the assignations may pass under the great seal, to be inrollable; so as we shall need to think of nothing but the arrears in a manner, of which I wish the twenty thousand pounds to the strangers (with the interest) be presently satisfied. The remain may serve for the king's present and urgent occasions. And if the king intend any gifts, let them stay for the second course (for all is not yet done,) but nothing out of these, except the king should give me the twenty thousand pounds I owe Peter Vanbore out of his fine, which is the chief debt I owe. But this I speak merrily. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

Kew, Decemb. 12, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

After I had written this letter, I received from your lordship, by my servant, his majesty's acceptation of my poor services; for which I pray your lordship to present to his majesty my most humble thanks. I have now other things in my mind for his majesty's service, that no time be lost.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

His majesty hath been pleased, out of his gracious care of Sir Robert Killigrew, to refer a suit of his, for certain concealed lands, to your lordship and the rest of the commissioners for the Treasury; the like whereof hath been heretofore granted to many others. My desire to your lordship is, that he being a gentleman, whom I love and wish very well unto, your lordship would shew him, for my sake, all the favour you can, in furthering his suit. Wherein your lordship shall do me a courtesy, for which I will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Royston, Decemb. 15, 1619. G. BUCKINGHAM.

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your letter, who for that business, whereof Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer brought the message to his majesty to Theobalds, returned the answer by him. As for that, whereof Sir Giles Mompesson spake to your lordship, his majesty liketh very well, and so do all others with whom his majesty hath spoken of it; and therefore he recommendeth it to your care, not doubting but your lordship will give all your furtherance to it, being your own work, and so much concerning his majesty's honour and profit; and will speak farther with your lordship of it at his return to London.

For those other businesses of the Star-chamber, which his majesty hath recommended to your lordship, he hopeth you will keep the clock still going, his profit being so much interested therein, especially seeing Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer† hath promised his majesty that he will be no more sick, whereby you shall have this comfort, that the burden will not lie upon your lordship alone.

The little leisure I had at Theobalds made me bring your man down hither for this answer, which I hope your lordship will excuse; and ever hold me for

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Royston, 19th of Jan. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—1619.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

In the midst of business, as in the midst of a way, one should not stay long, especially when I crave no direction, but only advertise.

This day we met about the commission, the commonwealth's commission, for the poor and vagabonds, &c. We have put it into an exceeding good way, and have appointed meetings once in fourteen days, because it shall not be a-slack. I was glad to hear from the two Chief Justices, that whatsoever appears in the country to come from *primum mobile* (that is, the king's care) works better than if it came from the law. Therefore we have ordered that this commission shall be published in the several circuits in the charges of the judges. For the rest hereafter.

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† Sir Fulke Greville, who surrendered that office in September, 1621, being succeeded in it by Sir Richard Weston. He had been created Lord Brooke of Beauchamp's Court, Jan. 9, 1620-1.

For the proposition of Sir Giles Mompesson we have met once. Exchequer-men will be exchequer-men still; but we shall do good.

For the account, or rather imparting, of the commissioners of treasury to the council, I think it will but end in a compliment. But the real care (and I hope good purpose) I will not give over, the better, because I am not alone.

For the Star-chamber business, I shall, as you write, keep the clock on going, which is hard to do, when sometimes the wheels are too many, and sometimes too few. But we shall do well, especially if those whom the king hath hitherto made bondmen (I mean, which have given bonds for their fines) he do not hereafter make freemen.

For Suffolk's business, it is a little strange, that the attorney made it a question to the commissioners of treasury, whether Suffolk should not be admitted to the lease of the extent of his own land, which is the way to encourage him not to pay his fine. But when it was told him, that the contrary course was held with the Earl of Northumberland, and that thereby he was brought to agree for his fine; then he turned, as his manner is.

For the errors, we have yet so much use of the service of Sir Henry Britten in bringing in the fines (indeed more than of the attorney) as we cannot, without prejudice to his majesty's service, enter yet into them; and besides, Sir Edward Coke comes not abroad.

Mr. Kirkham hath communicated with me, as matter of profit to his majesty, upon the coals referred by his majesty to us of the treasury; wherein I hope we shall do good, the rather, because I am not alone.

The proclamation for light gold Mr. Secretary Calvert, I know, hath sent to his majesty; and therefore of that I say no more.

For the raising of silver by ordinance, and not by proclamation, and that for the time to come we have given order to finish it. I hear a whispering, that thereupon the commissioners of the navy, the officers of the household, the wardrobe, may take occasion to break the book and the undertakings, because the prices may rise, which I thought good to signify to his majesty. And, to speak plainly, I fear more the pretence than the natural effect.

God evermore preserve your lordship. I rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

January 20, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

I have acquainted his majesty with your letter, who is very well pleased therewith, finding in you a continual care of his service. In that point of the Star-chamber business, his majesty saith there is a mistaking; for he meant not the Dutchmen's business, but that motion which your lordship made unto him, of sitting in the Star-chamber about the commissions, which you had not leisure to read till he came down to Royston, and hath reason to give you thanks for it, desiring you to prepare it, and study the point (of which he will speak more with you at his return to London,) being a matter worthy your thinking on, and his majesty's practice.

For the last point of your letter, his majesty saith it cannot but proceed of malice, that there should be any such plot, which he will not endure, but he will account those that whisper of it in that sort, enemies of his service; and will put them out of their places that practise it. And so I rest Your lordship's faithful

Friend and Servant,

Newmarket,
January 22, 1619. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To Mr. Secretary Calvert.

Mr. Secretary,

I have received your letter of the 3d of this present, signifying his majesty's pleasure touching Peacock's† examinations, of which I will have special care.

My Lord Coke is come to town, and hath sent me word, he will be with me on Monday, though he be somewhat lame. Howsoever, the service shall be done.

I was made acquainted by your letter to Secretary Naunton, with his majesty's dislike of the sending to him of the jolly letter from Zealand. I will now speak for myself, that when it was received, I turned to the Master of the Wards,‡ and said, "Well, I think you and I shall ever advise the king to do more for a Burlamachi, when he seeketh to his majesty by supplication and supplying the king at the first word, than for all the rest upon any bravados from the Burgomasters of Holland and Zealand:" who answered very honestly, that it was in the king's power to make them

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

† He was a minister of the University of Cambridge. He was committed to the Tower for pretending that he had by sorcery infatuated the king's judgment in the cause of Sir Thomas Lake.—*Camd. Annal. Regis Jacobi I.* p. 54.

‡ Sir Lionel Cranfield.

alter their style when he would. But when another of us said, we could not but in our own discharge send the king the letter, *scilicet negandum non fuit;* though indeed my way is otherwise.

I have at last recovered from these companions, Harrison and Dale, a copy of my Lord of Bangor's* book, the great one, and will presently set in hand the examinations. God keep you. Your assured Friend,

February 5, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the King.

May it please your Majesty.

Sir Edward Coke is now a-foot, and according to your command, signified by Mr. Secretary Calvert, we proceed in Peacock's examinations. For although there have been very good diligence used, yet certainly we are not at the bottom; and he that would not use the utmost of his line to sound such a business as this, should not have due regard neither to your majesty's honour nor safety.

A man would think he were in Luke Hutton's case again; for as my Lady Roos personated Luke Hutton, so it seemeth, Peacock personateth Atkins. But I make no judgment yet, but will go on with all diligence; and, if it may not be done otherwise, it is fit Peacock be put to torture. He deserveth it as well as Peacham did.

I beseech your majesty not to think I am more bitter, because my name is in it; for, besides that I always make my particular a cypher, when there is question of your majesty's honour and service, I think myself honoured for being brought into so good company. And as without flattery, I think your majesty the best of kings, and my noble Lord of Buckingham the best of persons favoured; so I hope, without presumption, for my honest and true intentions to state and justice, and my love to my master, I am not the worst of Chancellors.

God ever preserve your majesty.

Your Majesty's most obliged
and most obedient Servant,

10th of February, 1619. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

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* Dr. Lewis Bayly, born at Caermarthen in Wales, and educated in Exeter College, Oxford. He had been minister of Evesham in Worcestershire, and chaplain to Prince Henry, and rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, in London. He was promoted to the bishoprick of Bangor in 1616. On the 15th of July, 1621, he was committed to the Fleet, but on what account is not related by Camden, *Annales Regis Jacobi I.* p. 72, who mentions the circumstance of the bishop's imprisonment; but that he was soon after set at liberty. He was the author of the well known book, *The Practice of Piety.*

To the Lord Chancellor.

Most honoured Lord,

I presume, now after term (if there be any such thing as an afterterm with your Lordship,) to offer this inclosed paper* to your sight, concerning the Duke of Lerma; which, if your lordship have not already read, will not I think be altogether unpleasing, because it is full of particular circumstances. I know not how commonly it passeth up and down more or less. My friend, Mr. Gage, sent it me lately out of Spain. But howsoever, I build upon a sure ground; for though it should be vulgar, yet for my desire to serve your lordship, I cannot demerit so much, as not to deserve a pardon at your lordship's most noble hand.

Before the departure of the Duke of Lerma from that court, there was written upon the gate for a pasquinade, that the house was governed *por el Padre, y el Hijo, y un Santo;* as in Paris about the same time was written upon the Louvre gate, *C'est icy l'hostel des troys Roys;* for Luynes's brother is almost as great as himself. But the while there is good store of kings now in Christendom, though there be one fewer than there was.

In Spain, there are very extraordinary preparations for a great armada. Here is lately in this court a current speech as that the enterprise (whatsoever it should have been) is laid wholly aside: but that were strange. Yet this is certain, that the forces of men, to the number of almost two thousand, which were to have gone into Spain from hence, are discharged, together with some munition, which was also upon the point of being sent. Another thing is also certain, that both in the court of Spain and this, there is at this time a strange straitness of money; which I do not conceive, for my part, to proceed so much from want, as design to employ it. The rendezvous, where the forces were to meet, was at Malaga, within the Straits; which makes the enterprise upon Algiers most likely to be intended. For I take that to be a wild conceit, which thinks of going by the Adriatic *per far in un Viaggio duoi servitii;* as the giving a blow to Venice, and the landing of forces in aid of the King of Bohemia about Trieste.

Perhaps the King of Spain would be glad to let the world see, that now he is *hors de paye;* and by shewing himself in some action, to intitle the Duke of Lerma to all

* I have, out of a ragged hand in Spanish, translated it, and accompanied it with some marginal notes for your lordship's greater ease. *Note of Mr. Matthew.*

his former sloth; or perhaps he now makes a great preparation, upon the pretence of some enterprise, that he will let fall, that so he may with the less noise assemble great forces some other year for some other attempt not spoken of now.

My Lord Compton* is in this court, and goes shortly towards Italy. His fashion is sweet, and his disposition noble, and his conversation fair and honest.

Diego, my Lord Roos's man, is come hither. I pray God it be to do me any good towards the recovery of the debt his Lord owes me.

Most honoured Lord, I am here at good leisure to look back upon your lordship's great and noble goodness towards me, which may go for a great example in this age; and so it doth. That which I am sure of is, that my poor heart, such as it is, doth not only beat, but even boil in the desires it hath to do your lordship all humble service.

I crave leave, though it be against good manners, that I may ever present my humblest service to my most honoured lady, my Lady Verulam, and Lady Constable, with my best respects to my dear friend, Sir John Constable; who, if your lordship want the leisure, would perhaps cast an eye upon the inclosed paper.

I do, with more confidence, presume to address this other letter to Mr. Meautys, because the contents thereof concern your lordship's service.

I beseech sweet Jesus to make and keep your lordship intirely happy. So I humbly do you reverence, remaining ever Your Lordship's most obliged Servant,

TOBIE MATTHEW.

P. S. I should be glad to receive some of your lordship's philosophical labours, if your lordship could so think fit. I do now receive a letter from the Conde de Gondomar, who, thinking that it should find me in England, saith thus: *Beso las manes mil vezes a mi sennor, el sennor Gran Chancilor, con my coracon; como estoy en su buena gracia.* The empress is dead long since, and the emperor is so sickly, or rather so sick, that they forbear to bury her with solemnity, as conceiving, that he will save charge by dying shortly. They say here, that the business of Bohemia is growing towards an end by composition.

Brussels, this 14th of February, 1619.

* Spencer, Lord Compton, only son of William, Earl of Northampton. This nobleman, who succeeded his father in his title and estate, in June, 1630, was killed at Hampton Heath, near Stafford, on Sunday, March 19, 1642-3, fighting for King Charles I.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

For the services committed to Sir Lionel Cranfield, after his majesty hath spoken with him, I shall attend and follow his majesty's pleasure and directions, and yield my best care, advice, and endeavour for performance.

In the pretermitted duty I have some profit, and more was to have had, if Queen Anne had lived; wherefore I shall become an humble suitor to his majesty, that I may become no loser, specially seeing the business had been many a time and oft quite overthrown, if it had not been upheld only, or chiefly by myself; so that whatsoever service hath been since done, is upon my foundation.

Mr. Attorney* groweth pretty pert with me of late; and I see well who they are that maintain him. But be they flies, or be they wasps, I neither care for buzzes nor stings, most especially in any thing that concerneth my duty to his majesty, or my love to your lordship.

I forgot not in my public charge, the last Star-chamber day, to publish his majesty's honour for his late commission for the relief of the poor, and suppressing vagabonds; as also his gracious intention touching informers, which I perceive was received with much applause. That of projectors I spake not of, because it is not yet ripe, neither doth it concern the execution of any law, for which my speech was proper. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

February 17, 1619.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I send by post this sealed packet, containing my Lord of Suffolk's answer in the Star-chamber; I received it this evening at six of the clock, by the hands of the Master of the Rolls,† sealed as it is with my Lord of Suffolk's seal, and the Master's of the Rolls; but neither I, nor the Master of the Rolls know what is in it; but it cometh first to his majesty's sight. Only I did direct, that because the authentic copy (unto which my lord is sworn, according to the course of the court) is not so fit for his majesty's reading, my Lord of Suffolk should send withal a paper copy, which his majesty might read with less trouble.

* Sir Henry Yelverton.

† Sir Julius Cæsar.

My Lady Suffolk is so ill of the small-pox, as she is not yet fit to make any answer.

Bingley's* answer is come in, a long one; and as I perceive, with some things impertinent, yea, and unfit. Of that I confer with Mr. Solicitor† to-morrow; and then I will farther advertise your lordship. God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

York House, this 23d of Febr. 1619, at 9 of the clock, 1619-20.

To the Lord Chancellor.

Most honourable Lord,

I do even now receive this letter from the Conde de Gondomar, with direction I should send it (since I am not there to deliver it) to Mr. Wyche, that so he may present it to your lordship's hand at such time, as it may be of most use to him. He commands me besides, that for his sake I should become an humble solicitor to your lordship for this friend of his; which I presume to do the more willingly, because this party is a great friend of mine, and so are also many of his friends my friends. Besides, he wills me to represent his great thanks to your lordship, for the just favours you have been pleased to vouchsafe to Mr. Wyche already, the rather in contemplation of the Conde, as he hath been informed. And if in the company, or rather in the attendance of so great an intercessor, it be not an unpardonable kind of ill manners to intrude myself, I presume to cast myself at your lordship's feet, with protestation that I shall be very particularly bound to your lordship's goodness for any favour, with justice, that he shall obtain.

I beseech Jesus keep your lordship ever intirely happy; and so doing all humble reverence, I take leave.

Your Lordship's most humble
and most obliged Servant,
TOBIE MATTHEW.

Brussels, this 26th of February, 1619.

To the Lord Chancellor.‡

My honourable Lord,

Understanding that there hath been a long and tedious suit depending in the Chancery between Robert D'Oyley and his wife, plaintiffs, and Leonard Lovace, defendant;

* Sir John Bingley's. † Sir Thomas Coventry.

‡ Harl. MSS. Vol. 7006.

which cause hath been heretofore ended by award, but is now revived again, and was, in Michaelmas term last, fully heard before your lordship; at which hearing your lordship did not give your opinion thereof, but were pleased to defer it until breviats were delivered on both sides; which, as I am informed, hath been done accordingly: now my desire unto your lordship is, that you will be pleased to take some time, as speedily as your lordship may, to give your opinion thereof, and so make a final end as your lordship shall find the same in equity to deserve: for which I will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

Windsor, 18th of May, 1620. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I went to Kew for pleasure, but I met with pain. But neither pleasure nor pain can withdraw my mind from thinking of his majesty's service. And because his majesty shall see how I was occupied at Kew, I send him these papers of rules for the Star-chamber, wherein his majesty shall erect one of the noblest and durablest pillars for the justice of this kingdom in perpetuity, that can be, after, by his own wisdom and the advice of his lords, he shall have revised them and established them. The manner and circumstances I refer to my attending his majesty. The rules are not all set down; but I will do the rest within two or three days. I ever remain

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend and faithful Servant,

June 9, 1620. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My very good Lord,

Such is my haste at this time, that I cannot write so largely to yourself as I would, in the business of the steel, in which once already I sent to your lordship, and in which I only desire the good of the commonwealth, and the service of my master; I therefore have sent this bearer, my servant, unto you, and committed the relation of the business to him. And I do intreat your lordship to give credit to what he shall deliver your lordship therein, with your

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000.

lawful assistance of my desires; wherein I doubt not but you shall do a very good office. And I shall rest ready to requite your courtesy; and, with my best wishes, continue

Your very loving Friend,

Egham, July 6, 1620. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*My Lord Marquis in behalf of his servant, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Dallington.*

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

His majesty having made a reference of business to your lordship concerning Sir Robert Douglas and Mr. David Ramsey, two of his highness's servants, whom he loveth, and whom I wish very well unto; I have thought fit to desire you to shew them all the favour your lordship may therein: which I will acknowledge, and ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

The reference comes in the name of my brother Christopher, because they thought it would succeed the better: but the prince wisheth well to it.

Farnham, the last of August, 1620.

Indorsed—*Touching the business of wills.*

To the King.†

Amongst the counsels which, since the time I had the honour to be first of your learned, and after of your privy council, I have given your majesty faithfully according to my small ability; I do take comfort in none more, than that I was the first that advised you to come in person into the Star-chamber; knowing very well, that those virtues of your majesty which I saw near hand, would out of that throne, both as out of a sphere, illustrate your own honour, and as out of a fountain, water and refresh your whole land. And because your majesty, in that you have already done, hath so well effected that which I foresaw and desired, even beyond my expectation; it is no marvel if I resort still to the branches of that counsel that hath borne so good fruit.

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* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000.

† This letter appears to have been written after the proceedings against Sir Thomas Lake, and his lady and daughter, in the Star-chamber, in January 1619-20, and before the resolution of calling the parliament, which met January 30, 1620-1.

The Star-chamber, in the institution thereof, hath two uses; the one as a supreme court of judicature, the other as an open council. In the first kind, your majesty hath sat there now twice: the first time, in a cause of force, concerning the duels; the second time, in a cause of fraud, concerning the forgeries and conspiracies against the Lady of Exeter; which two natures of crimes, force and fraud, are the proper objects of that court.

In the second kind, your majesty came the first time of all, when you did set in frame and fabric the several jurisdictions of your courts. There wants a fourth part of the square to make all complete, which is, if your majesty will be pleased to publish certain commonwealth commissions; which, as your majesty hath well begun to do in some things, and to speak of in some others; so, if your majesty will be pleased to make a solemn declaration of them in that place, this will follow:

First, that your majesty shall do yourself an infinite honour, and win the hearts of your people to acknowledge you, as well the most politic king, as the most just.

Secondly, it will oblige your commissioners to a more strict account, when they shall be engaged by such a public charge and commandment. And thirdly, it will invite and direct any man that finds himself to know any thing concerning those commissions, to bring in their informations. So as I am persuaded it will eternize your name and merit, and that King James's commissions will be spoken of, and put in ure, as long as Britain lasts; at the least, in the reign of all good kings.

For the particulars, besides the two commissions of the navy, and the buildings about London (wherein your majesty may consider, whether you will have any thing altered or supplied,) I wish these following to be added.

Commission for advancing the clothing of England, as well the old drapery as the new, and all the incidents thereunto.

Commission for staying treasure within the realm, and the reiglement of monies.

Commission for the provision of the realm with corn and grain, and the government of the exportation and importation thereof; and directing of public granaries, if cause be.

Commission for introducing and nourishing manufactures within the realm, for setting people a-work, and the considering of all grants and privileges of that nature.

Commission to prevent the depopulation of towns and houses of husbandry, and for nuisances and highways.

Commission for the recovery of drowned lands.

Commission for the suppression of the grievances of informers.

Commission for the better proceedings in the plantations of Ireland.

Commission for the provision of the realm with all kind of warlike defence, ordnance, powder, munition, and armour.

Of these you may take and leave, as it shall please you: and I wish the articles concerning every one of them (first allowed by your council) to be read openly, and the commissioners' names.

For the good that comes of particular and select committees and commissions, I need not common-place, for your majesty hath found the good of them; but nothing to that, that will be, when such things are published; because it will vindicate them from neglect, and make many good spirits, that we little think of, cooperate in them.

I know very well that the world, that commonly is apt to think, that the care of the commonwealth is but a pretext in matters of state, will perhaps conceive, that this is but a preparative to a parliament. But let not that hinder your majesty's magnanimity, *in opere operato*, that is so good; and besides, that opinion, for many respects, will do no hurt to your affairs.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My very good Lord,

By his majesty's directions Sir Francis Blundell will deliver you a petition of Sir Francis Annesly, his majesty's secretary of Ireland, with his majesty's pleasure thereupon. To the gentleman I wish very well, and do therefore recommend him and his cause to your lordship's good favour; and your respect of him, in his absence, I will thankfully acknowledge. So I take my leave.

Theobalds, the 2nd of October, 1620.

Your lordship's very loving Friend,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

It being a thing to speak or write, specially to a king, in public, another in private, although I have dedicated a work,† or rather a portion of a work, which, at last, I have

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000.

† Novum Organum.

overcome, to your majesty by a public epistle, where I speak to you in the hearing of others; yet I thought fit also humbly to seek access for the same, not so much to your person as to your judgment, by these private lines.

The work, in what colours soever it may be set forth, is no more but a new logic, teaching to invent and judge by induction, as finding syllogism incompetent for sciences of nature; and thereby to make philosophy and sciences both more true and more active.

This tending to inlarge the bounds of reason, and to endow man's estate with new value, was no improper oblation to your majesty, who, of men, is the greatest master of reason and author of beneficence.

There be two of your council, and one other bishop* of this land, that know I have been about some such work near thirty years†; so as I made no haste. And the reason why I have published it now, specially being unperfect, is, to speak plainly, because I number my days, and would have it saved. There is another reason of my so doing, which is to try whether I can get help in one intended part of this work, namely, the compiling of a natural and experimental history, which must be the main foundation of a true and active philosophy.

This work is but a new body of clay whereinto your majesty, by your countenance and protection, may breathe life. And to tell your majesty truly what I think, I account your favour may be to this work as much as a hundred years time: for I am persuaded the work will gain upon men's minds in ages, but your gracing it may make it take hold more swiftly; which I would be very glad of, it being a work meant, not for praise or glory, but for practice and the good of men. One thing, I confess, I am ambitious of, with hope, which is, that after these beginnings, and the wheel once set on going, men shall seek more truth out of Christian pens than hitherto they have done out of heathen. I say with hope, because I hear my former book of the Advancement of Learning, is

* Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester.

† Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at Holland, dated at London, October 28th, 1620, mentions, that Mr. Henry Cuffe, who had been secretary to Robert, Earl of Essex, and executed for being concerned in his treasons, having long since perused this work, gave this censure, that "a fool could not have written such a work, and a wise man would not." And, in another letter, dated February 3, 1620-1, Mr. Chamberlain takes notice, that the king could not forbear sometimes, in reading that book, to say, "that it was like the peace of God, that passeth all understanding."

well tasted in the universities here, and the English colleges abroad: and this is the same argument sunk deeper.

And so I ever humbly rest in prayers, and all other duties,

Your Majesty's most bounden
and devoted Servant,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.

York House, this 12th of October, 1620.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

There is a business in your lordship's hands, with which Sir Robert Lloyd did acquaint your lordship, whereof the prince hath demanded of me what account is given. And because I cannot inform his highness of any proceeding therein, I desire your lordship to use all expedition that may be, in making your answer to me, that I may give his highness some satisfaction, who is very desirous thereof. And so I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

Royston, 14th, of October, 1620.

Indorsed—*Touching the Register of Wills.*

To the Lord Chancellor.

My honourable Lord,

I desire your lordship to continue your favour to Sir Thomas Gerrard in the business concerning him, wherein I signified his majesty's pleasure to your lordship. And one favour more I am to intreat of your lordship in his behalf, that you will be pleased to speak to one of the assistants of the Chancellor of the Duchy, in whose court he hath a cause depending, as he will more fully inform your lordship himself, to see that he may have a fair proceeding according to justice: for which I will ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

Royston, 15th of October, 1620.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Your lordship desiring to understand what cometh of the business, after which the prince hearkeneth, I was in doubt which of the two businesses you meant; that of the Duchy, or that of the Prerogative Court for wills; for

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000.

both are recommended from the prince. But be it one, or be it the other, no time hath been lost in either; for Mr. Secretary Naunton and I have entered into both. For the Duchy, we have already stayed all proceedings to the king's disservice for those manors, which are not already passed under seal. For that which is passed, we have heard the attorney* with none or little satisfaction hitherto. The Chancellor† is not yet come, though sent for. For the other, we have heard Sir John Bennet‡, and given him leave to acquaint my Lord of Canterbury; and have required the solicitor§ to come well prepared for the king. So that in neither we can certify yet, and to trouble your lordship, while business is but in passage, were time lost. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend,
and faithful Servant,
October 16, 1620. Fr. Verulam, Canc.

To the King, thanking his Majesty for his gracious acceptance of his book.

May it please your Majesty,

I cannot express how much comfort I received by your last letter of your own royal hand ‖. I see your majesty is a star that hath benevolent aspect and gracious influence upon all things that tend to a general good.

> Daphni, quid antiquos signorum suspicis artus?
> Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum;
> Astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus, et quo
> Duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem ¶.

This work, which is for the bettering of men's bread and wine, which are the characters of temporal blessings and sacraments of eternal, I hope, by God's holy providence, will be ripened by Cæsar's star.

Your majesty shall not only do to myself a singular favour, but to your business a material help, if you will be graciously pleased to open yourself to me in those things wherein you may be unsatisfied. For though this work,

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* Sir Henry Yelverton.

† Sir Humphrey May, made Chancellor of the Duchy, March 9, 1617.

‡ Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In 1621 he was fined 20,000*l.* for bribery, corruption, and exaction in that office. He died in 1627.

§ Sir Thomas Coventry.

‖ Of the 16th of October, 1620, printed in Lord Bacon's works.

¶ Virgil, Eclog. IX. vers. 46—49.

as by position and principle, doth disclaim to be tried by any thing but by experience, and the results of experience in a true way, yet the sharpness and profoundness of your majesty's judgment ought to be an exception to this general rule; and your questions, observations, and admonishments, may do infinite good.

This comfortable beginning makes me hope farther that your majesty will be aiding to me in setting men on work for the collecting of a natural and experimental history, which is *basis totius negotii*, a thing which I assure myself will be from time to time an excellent recreation unto you; I say to that admirable spirit of yours that delighteth in light: and I hope well, that, even in your times, many noble inventions may be discovered for man's use. For who can tell, now this mine of truth is opened, how the veins go; and what lieth higher, and what lieth lower? But let me trouble your majesty no farther at this time. God ever preserve and prosper your majesty.

[Oct. 19, 1620.]

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I send now only to give his majesty thanks for the singular comfort which I received by his majesty's letter of his own hand, touching my book. And I must also give your lordship of my best thanks for your letter so kindly and affectionately written.

I did even now receive your lordship's letter touching the proclamation, and do approve his majesty's judgment and foresight about mine own. Neither would I have thought of inserting matter of state for the vulgar, but that now a days there is no vulgar, but all statesmen. But, as his majesty doth excellently consider, the time of it is not yet proper. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

October 19, 1620. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

Indorsed—*In answer to his Majesty's directions touching the proclamation for a parliament.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

It may be your lordship will expect to hear from me what passed yesterday in the Star-chamber, touching Yelverton's cause, though we desired Secretary Calvert to acquaint his majesty therewith.

To make short, at the motion of the attorney, in person at the bar, and at the motion of my lord steward* in court, the day of proceeding is deferred till the king's pleasure is known. This was against my opinion, then declared plain enough, but put to votes and ruled by the major part, though some concurred with me.

I do not like of this course, in respect that it puts the king in a strait; for either the note of severity must rest upon his majesty, if he go on; or the thanks of clemency is in some part taken away, if his majesty go not on.

I have *cor unum et via una;* and therefore did my part as a judge and the king's Chancellor. What is farther to to be done I will advise the king faithfully when I see his majesty and your lordship. But before I give advice I must ask a question first.

God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

October 28, 1620. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

In performance of your royal pleasure, signified by Sir John Suckling†, we have at several times considered of the petition of Mr. Christopher Villiers,‡ and have heard, as well the registers and ministers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and their counell, as also the council of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. And, setting aside such other points as are desired by the petition, we do think, that your majesty may by law, and without inconvenience, appoint an officer that shall have the ingrossing of the transcripts of all wills to be sealed with the seal of either of the Prerogative Courts, which shall be proved *in communi formâ*, and likewise of all inventories to be exhibited in the same courts.

We see it necessary that all wills, which are not judicially controverted, be engrossed before the probate. Yet, as the law now stands, no officer of those courts can lawfully take any fee or reward for engrossing the said wills

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* The Duke of Lenox.

† He was afterwards comptroller of the household to King Charles I. and father of the poet of the same name.

‡ Youngest brother to the Marquis of Buckingham. He was created, April 23, 1623, Baron of Daventry and Earl of Anglesey. He died September 24, 1624.

and inventories, the statute of the 21st of King Henry the VIIIth restraining them. Wherefore we hold it much more convenient that it should be done by a lawful officer, to be appointed by your majesty, than in a cause not warrantable by law. Yet our humble opinion and advice is, that good consideration be had in passing this book, as well touching a moderate proportion of fees to be allowed for the pains and travel of the officer, as for the expedition of the suitor, in such sort that the subject may find himself in better case than he is now, and not in worse.

But however we conceive this may be convenient in the two courts of prerogative, where there is much business, yet, in the ordinary course of the bishop's diocesans, we hold the same will be inconvenient, in regard of the small employment.

Your Majesty's most faithful and obedient Servants,

FR. VERULAM, Canc.
ROBERT NAUNTON,
November 15, 1620. HENRY MONTAGU *.

To the Lord Chancellor †.

After my very hearty commendations I have acquainted his majesty with your letter, who commanded me to tell you that he had been thinking upon the same point whereof you write three or four days ago, being so far from making any question of it that he every day expected when a writ should come down. For at the creation of Prince Henry, the lords of the council and judges assured his majesty of as much as the precedents mentioned in your letter speak of. And so I rest your Lordship's

Very loving Friend at command,

Newmarket, the 24th of November, 1620. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Indorsed—*Shewing his Majesty is satisfied with precedents, touching the Prince's summons to parliament.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Your lordship may find, that in the number of patents which we have represented to his majesty, as like to be stirred in the lower house of parliament, we have set down three, which may concern some of your lordship's special

* Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who, on the 3rd of December following, was advanced to the post of Lord High Treasurer.

† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000.

friends, which I account as my own friends; and so shewed myself when they were in suit. The one, that to Sir Giles Mompesson, touching the inns; the second, to Mr. Christopher Villiers and Mr. Maule, touching the recognizances for ale-houses; the third, to Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower, touching the cask. These in duty could not be omitted, for that, specially the two first of them, are more rumoured, both by the vulgar and by the gentlemen, yea, and by the judges themselves, than any other patents at this day. Therefore I thought it appertained to the singular love and affection which I bear you upon so many obligations, to wish and advise that your lordship, whom God hath made in all things so fit to be beloved, would put off the envy of these things, which I think, in themselves, bear no great fruit, and rather take the thanks for ceasing them, than the note for maintaining them. But, howsoever, let me know your mind, and your lordship shall find I will go your way.

I cannot express how much comfort I take in the choice which his majesty hath made of my Lord Chief Justice to be Lord Treasurer; not for his sake, nor for my sake, but for the king's sake, hoping that now a number of counsels, which I have given for the establishment of his majesty's estate, and have lain dead and buried deeper than this snow, may now spring up, and bear fruit; the rather, for that I persuade myself he and I shall run one way. And yet I know well, that in this doubling world *cor una et via una* is rare in one man, but more rare between two. And therefore, if it please his majesty, according to his prudent custom in such cases, to cast out, now at his coming down, some words, which may the better knit us in conjunction to do him service, I suppose it will be to no idle purpose.

And as an old truant in the commission of the treasury, let me put his majesty in remembrance of three things now upon his entrance, which he is presently to go in hand with: the first, to make Ireland to bear the charge thereof: the second, to bring all accounts to one purse in the exchequer: the third, by all possible means to endeavour the taking off the anticipations. There be a thousand things more, but these being his majesty's last commands to the commissioners of the treasury, with such as in his majesty's princely judgment shall occur, will do well to season his place.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

November 29, 1620. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

As soon as I had written this letter I received your lordship's letter, touching my Lord Chief Justice, which redoubled my comfort, to see how his majesty's thoughts and mine, his poor servant's, and your lordship's, meet.

I send inclosed names for the Speaker; and if his majesty, or your lordship, demand our opinion, which of them, my Lord Chief Justice will tell you. It were well it were dispatched; for else I will not dine with the Speaker; for his drink will not be laid in time enough.

I beseech your lordship, care may be taken that our general letter may be kept secret, whereof my Lord Chief Justice will tell you the reason.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

According to your commandment, we have heard once more the proctors of the prerogative court, what they could say, and find no reason to alter, in any part, our former certificate. Thus much withal we think fit to note to your majesty, that our former certificate, which we now ratify, is principally grounded upon a point in law, upon the statute of 21 Henry VIII. wherein we, the Chancellor and Treasurer, for our own opinions, do conceive the law is clear, and your solicitor-general* concurs.

Now, whether your majesty will be pleased to rest in our opinions, and so to pass the patents, or give us leave to assist ourselves with the opinion of some principal judges now in town, whereby the law may be the better resolved, to avoid farther question hereafter; we leave it to your majesty's royal pleasure. This we represent the rather, because we discern such a confidence in the proctors, and those upon whom they depend, as it is not unlike, they will bring it to a legal question.

And so we humbly kiss your majesty's hands, praying for your preservation.

Your Majesty's most humble
and obedient Servants,
FR. VERULAM, Canc.
HENRY MONTAGU,
ROBERT NAUNTON.

York House, December 12, 1620.

* Sir Thomas Coventry, who was made attorney-general, Jan. 14, 1620-1.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I was so full of cold, as I could not attend his majesty to-day. Yesterday I dispatched the proclamation with the council. There was a motion to have sharpened it; but better none, than over sharp at first. I moved the council also for supplying the committee for drawing of bills and some other matters, in regard of my Lord Hobart's* sickness, who I think will hardly escape: which, though it be happiness for him, yet it is loss for us.

Mean while, as I propounded to the king, which he allowed well, I have broken the main of the parliament into questions and parts, which I send. It may be, it is an over diligence; but still methinks there is a middle thing between art and chance: I think they call it providence, or some such thing, which good servants owe to their sovereign, specially in cases of importance and straits of occasions. And those huffing elections, and general licence of speech ought to make us the better provided. The way will be, if his majesty be pleased to peruse these questions advisedly, and give me leave to wait on him; and then refer it to some few of the council, a little to advise upon it. I ever rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

December 23, 1620. FR. VERULAM, Canc.

To the Lord Chancellor.†

My honourable Lord,

His majesty hath commanded me to signify his pleasure unto your lordship, that Sir Thomas Coventry, now his solicitor-general, be forthwith made his attorney-general: and that your lordship give order to the clerk of the crown to draw up a grant of the said place unto him accordingly. And so I rest your Lordship's faithful

Friend and Servant,

Whitehall,
9th of January, 1620. G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Lord Chancellor.‡

My honourable Lord,

I have been intreated to recommend unto your lordship the distressed case of the Lady Martin, widow of Sir Richard Martin, deceased, who hath a cause to be heard

* Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
† Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000. ‡ Ibid.

before your lordship in the Chancery, at your first sitting in the next term, between her and one Archer, and others, upon an ancient statute, due long since unto her husband; which cause, I am informed, hath received three verdicts for her in the common law, a decree in the Exchequer-chamber, and a dismission before your lordship: which I was the more willing to do, because I have seen a letter of his majesty to the said Sir Richard Martin, acknowledging the good service that he did him in this kingdom, at the time of his majesty's being in Scotland. And therefore I desire your lordship, that you would give her a full and fair hearing of her cause, and a speedy dispatch thereof, her poverty being such, that having nothing to live on but her husband's debts, if her suit long depend, she shall be inforced to lose her cause for want of means to follow it: wherein I will acknowledge your lordship's favour, and rest

Your Lordship's faithful
Friend and Servant,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall,
the 13th of January, 1620.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My honourable Lord,

His majesty hath commanded me to signify his pleasure unto you, that you give present order to the Clerk of the Crown to draw a bill to be signed by his majesty for Robert Heath, late recorder of London, to be his majesty's solicitor-general. So I rest your Lordship's

Friend and Servant,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

Theobalds,
20th of January, 1620.

To the King.†

May it please your Majesty,

I thank God I number days, both in thankfulness to him, and in warning to myself. I should likewise number your majesty's benefits, which, as to take them in all kinds, they are without number; so even in this kind of steps and degrees of advancement, they are in greater number than scarcely any other of your subjects can say. For this is now the eighth time that your majesty hath raised me.

You formed me of the learned council extraordinary, without patent or fee, a kind of *individuum vagum*. You

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000.

† This seems to have been written by Lord St. Albans, just after he was created a viscount by that title, January 27, 1620.

established me, and brought me into ordinary; soon after you placed me solicitor, where I served seven years: then your majesty made me your attorney, or procurator general; then privy counsellor, while I was attorney; a kind of miracle of your favour, that had not been in many ages: thence Keeper of your Seal; and because that was a kind of planet, and not fixed, Chancellor: and when your majesty could raise me no higher, it was your grace to illustrate me with beams of honour, first making me Baron Verulam, and now Viscount St. Alban. So this is the eighth rise or reach, a diapason in music, even a good number, and accord for a close. And so I may without superstition be buried in St. Alban's habit or vestment.

Besides the number, the obligation is increased by three notes or marks: first, that they proceed from such a king; for honours from some kings are but great chancels, or counters, set high; but from your majesty, they are indeed dignities by the cooperation of your grace. Secondly, in respect of the continuance of your majesty's favour, which proceedeth as the divine favour, from grace to grace. And thirdly, these splendours of honour are like your freest patents, *absque aliquid inde reddendo.* Offices have burdens of cares and labours; but honours have no burden but thankfulness, which doth rather raise men's spirits than *accable* them, or press them down.

Then I must say, *quid retribuam?* I have nothing of mine own. That that God hath given me I shall present unto your majesty; which is care and diligence, and assiduous endeavour, and that which is the chief, *cor unum et viam unam;* hoping that your majesty will do, as your superior doth; that is, finding my heart upright, you will bear with my other imperfections. And lastly, your majesty shall have the best of my time, which I assure myself I shall conclude in your favour, and survive in your remembrance. And that is my prayer for myself; the rest shall be in prayers for your majesty.

To the Lord Chancellor.*

My noble Lord,

I have shewed your letter of thanks to his majesty, who saith there are too many thanks in it for so small a favour; which he holdeth too little to encourage so well a deserving

* Harl. MSS. Vol. 7000.

servant. For myself, I shall ever rejoice at the manifestation of his majesty's favour toward you, and will contribute all that is in me, to the increasing of his good opinion; ever resting

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

With due thanks for your last visit, this day is a play-day for me. But I will wait on your lordship if it be necessary.

I do hear from divers of judgment, that to-morrow's conference* is like to pass in a calm, as to the referrees†. Sir Lionel Cranfield, who hath been formerly the trumpet, said yesterday, that he did now incline to Sir John Walter's opinion and motion, not to have the referrees meddled with otherwise, than to discount it from the king; and so not to look back, but to the future. And I do hear almost all men of judgment in the house wish now that way. I woo nobody: I do but listen, and I have doubt only of Sir Edward Coke, who, I wish, had some round *caveat* given him from the king; for your lordship hath no great power with him: but I think a word from the king mates him.

If things be carried fair by the committees of the lower house, I am in some doubt, whether there will be occasion for your lordship to speak to-morrow; though, I confess, I incline to wish you did, chiefly because you are fortunate in that kind; and, to be plain also, for our better countenance, when your lordship, according to your noble proposition, shall shew more regard of the fraternity you have with great counsellors, than of the interest of your natural brother.

Always, good my lord, let us think of times out of parliament, as well as the present time in parliament, and let us not all be put *es pourpoint*. Fair and moderate courses are ever best in causes of estate; the rather, because I wish this parliament, by the sweet and united passages thereof,

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* On Monday the 5th of March, 1620-1, the house of lords received a message from the commons, desiring a conference touching certain grievances, principally concerning Sir Giles Mompesson.—See *Journal of the House of Lords*.

† Those to whom the king referred the petitions, to consider whether they were fit to be granted or not. This explanation of the word *referrees* I owe to a note in a MS. letter, written to the celebrated Mr. Joseph Mead of Christ's College, Cambridge.

may increase the king's reputation with foreigners, who may make a far other judgment than we mean, of a beginning to question great counsellors and officers of the crown, by courts or assemblies of estates. But the reflection upon my particular in this makes me more sparing than perhaps, as a counsellor, I ought to be.

God ever preserve and prosper you.

Your Lordship's true Servant all and ever,

March 7, the day I received the seal, 1620. FR. ST. ALBAN, Canc.

To the King.*

It may please your Majesty,

I received your majesty's letter about midnight; and because it was stronger than the ancient summons of the exchequer, which is, *sicut teipsum et omnia tua diligis;* whereas this was *sicut me diligis;* I used all possible care to effect your majesty's good will and pleasure.

I sent early to the prince, and to my Lord Treasurer; and we attended his highness soon after seven of the clock, at Whitehall, to avoid farther note. We agreed, that if the message came, we would put the lords into this way, that the answer should be, that we understood they came prepared both with examination and precedent; and we likewise desired to be alike prepared, that the conference might be with more fruit.

I did farther speak with my Lord of Canterbury, when I came to the house, not letting him know any part of the business, that he would go on with a motion which he had told me of the day before, that the Lords' House might not sit Wednesday and Friday, because they were convocation-days; and so was the former custom of parliament.

* The date of this letter is determined to be the 8th of March, 1620-1, from the circumstance of its being mentioned to have been written on that Thursday, on which the house of lords adjourned to the Saturday following. It appears from the journal of that house, that on the 8th of March, 1620, the said house, at which were present the Prince of Wales and Marquis of Buckingham, was adjourned to Saturday the 10th, on which day a conference of both houses was held relating to the complaint of that of the commons against Sir Giles Mompesson. Of this conference the Lord Chancellor made report on Monday, March 12, to the house of lords, remarking, that "the inducement to this conference was to clear the king's honour, touching grants to Sir Giles, and the passages in procuring the same." After this report of the conference, the Lord Chamberlain, William, Earl of Pembroke, complained to the house, that two great lords, meaning the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Viscount Mandeville, had, in that conference, *spake in their own defence, not being allowed to do so when the committees were named.* Upon which both the lords acknowledged their error, and begged pardon of the house.

As good luck was, the house read two bills, and had no other business at all: whereupon my Lord of Canterbury made his motion; and I adjourned the house till Saturday. It was no sooner done, but came the message from the lower house. But the *consummatum est* was past, though I perceived a great willingness in many of the lords to have recalled it, if it might have been.

So with my best prayers for your majesty's preservation, I rest Your Majesty's most bounden,
and most devoted Servant,
Thursday, at eleven of our forenoon, March 8, 1620. FR. ST. ALBAN, Canc.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.*

My very good Lord,

Your lordship spoke of purgatory. I am now in it; but my mind is in a calm; for my fortune is not my felicity. I know I have clean hands, and a clean heart; and I hope a clean house for friends or servants. But Job himself, or whosoever was the justest judge, by such hunting for matters against him, as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul, especially in a time when greatness is the mark, and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a chancellor, I think if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up. But the king and your lordship will I hope put an end to these my straits one way or other. And in troth, that which I fear most, is, lest continual attendance and business, together with these cares, and want of time to do my weak body right this spring by diet and physic, will cast me down; and that it will be thought feigning, or fainting. But I hope in God I shall hold out. God prosper you.

To the Chancellor of the Duchy, Sir Humphrey May.

Good Mr. Chancellor,

There will come, upon Friday, before you a patent† of his majesty's for the separation of the company of apothecaries from the company of grocers, and their survey, and the erecting them into a corporation of themselves under

* This letter seems to have been written soon after Lord St. Alban began to be accused of abuses in his office of chancellor.

† The patent for incorporating the apothecaries by themselves, by the appellation of "The Masters, Wardens, and Society of the Art and Mystery of Apothecaries of London," was dated December 6, 1617. They had been incorporated with the company of grocers, April 9, 1606.

the survey of the physicians. It is, as I conceive, a fair business both for law and conveniency, and a work which the king made his own, and did, and as I hear doth take much to heart. It is *in favorem vitæ*, where the other part is *in favorem lucri*. You may perhaps think me partial to apothecaries, that have been ever puddering in physic all my life. But there is a circumstance that touches upon me but *post diem*, for it is comprehended in the charge and sentence passed upon me. It is true, that after I had put the seal to the patent, the apothecaries* presented me with a hundred pounds. It was no judicial affair. But howsoever, as it may not be defended, so I would be glad it were not raked up more than needs. I doubt only the chair, because I hear he useth names sharply; and besides, it may be, he hath a tooth at me yet, which is not fallen out with age. But the best is, as one saith, *satis est lapsos non erigere; urgere verò jacentes, aut præcipitantes impellere, certè est inhumanum*. Mr. Chancellor, if you will be nobly pleased to grace me upon this occasion, by shewing tenderness of my name, and commiseration of my fortune, there is no man in that assembly from whose mouth I had rather it should come. I hope it will be no dishonour to you. It will oblige me much, and be a worthy fruit of our last reintegration of friendship. I rest

Your faithful Friend to do you service.

To the Count Gondomar, Ambassador from the Court of Spain.

Illustrissime Domine Legate,

Amorem illustrissimæ Dominationis tuæ erga me, ejusque et fervorem et candorem, tam in prosperis rebus, quam in adversis, æquabili tenore constantem perspexi. Quo nomine tibi meritas et debitas gratias ago. Me verò jam vocat et ætas, et fortuna, atque etiam genius meus, cui adhuc satis morosé satisfeci, ut excedens è theatro rerum civilium literis

* His lordship being charged by the house of commons, that he had received one hundred pounds of the new company of apothecaries, that stood against the grocers, as likewise a taster of gold worth between four and five hundred pounds, with a present of ambergrise, from the apothecaries that stood with the grocers, and two hundred pounds of the grocers; he admits the several sums to have been received of the three parties, but alleges, "that he considered those presents as no judicial business, but a concord of composition between the parties: and as he thought they had all three received good, and they were all common purses, he thought it the less matter to receive what they voluntarily presented; for if he had taken it in the nature of a bribe, he knew it could not be concealed, because it must be put to the account of the three several companies."

me dedam, et ipsos actores instruam, et posteritati serviam. Id mihi fortasse honori erit, et degam tanquam in atriis vitæ melioris.

Deus illustrissimam Dominationem tuam incolumem servet et prosperam.

Servus tuus,

Junii 6, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To Count Gondomar.*

Illustrissime et excellentissime Domine,

Perspexi et agnosco providentiam divinam, quod in tantâ solitudine mihi tanquam cœlitus suscitaverit talem amicum, qui tantis implicatus negotiis, et in tantis temporis angustiis, curam mei habuerit, idque pro me effecerit, quod alii amici mei aut non ausi sint tentare, aut obtinere non potuerint. Atque illustrissimæ Dominationi tuæ reddent fructum proprium et perpetuum mores tui tam generosi, et erga omnia officia humanitatis et honoris propensi; neque erit fortasse inter opera tua hoc minimum, quod me, qui et aliquis fui apud vivos, neque omnino intermoriar apud posteros, ope et gratiâ tuâ erexeris, confirmaris. Ego quid possum? Ero tandem tuus, si minus usufructu, at saltem affectu, voto. Sub cineribus fortunæ vivi erunt semper ignes amoris. Te igitur humillimè saluto, tibi valedico, omnia prospera exopto, gratitudinem testor, observantiam polliceor.

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Do. Do. Didaco Sarmiento de Acuna, Comiti de Gondomar, Legato Regis Hispaniarum extraordinario in Angliâ.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.†

My very good Lord,

I humbly thank your lordship for the grace and favour which you did both to the message and messenger, in bringing Mr. Meautys to kiss his majesty's hands, and to receive his pleasure. My riches in my adversity have been, that I have had a good master, a good friend, and a good servant.

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* In the letters, memoirs, &c. of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, published by Mr. Stephens, in 1736, p. 517, is a Spanish letter to him from Count Gondomar, dated at London, June 14, 1621.

† This letter is reprinted here, because it differs in some respects from that published in Letters, Memoirs, Parliamentary Affairs, State Papers, &c. by Robert Stephens, Esq; p. 151. Edit. London, 1736, 4to.

Perceiving, by Mr. Meautys, his majesty's inclination, it shall be, as it hath ever used to be to me, instead of a direction; and therefore I purpose to go forthwith to Gorhambury, humbly thanking his majesty nevertheless, that he was graciously pleased to have acquainted my lords with my desire, if it had stood me so much upon. But his majesty knoweth best the times and seasons; and to his grace I submit myself, desiring his majesty and your lordship to take my letters from the Tower as written *de profundis*, and those I continue to write to be *ex aquis salsis*.

June 22, 1621.

Indorsed—*To Lord Buckingham, upon bringing Mr. Meautys to kiss the King's hands.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I have written, as I thought it decent in me to do, to his majesty the letter I send inclosed. I have great faith that your lordship, now nobly and like yourself, will effect with his majesty. In this the king is of himself, and it hath no relation to parliament. I have written also, as your lordship advised me, only touching that point of means. I have lived hitherto upon the scraps of my former fortunes; and I shall not be able to hold out longer. Therefore I hope your lordship will now, according to the loving promises and hopes given, settle my poor fortunes, or rather my being. I am much fallen in love with a private life; but yet I shall so spend my time, as shall not decay my abilities for use.

God preserve and prosper your Lordship.

September 5, 1621.

To the Prince.

May it please your Highness,

I cannot too oft acknowledge your highness's favour in my troubles; but acknowledgment now is but begging of new favour. Yet even that is not inconvenient; for thanksgiving and petition go well together, even to God himself. My humble suit to your highness, that I may be thought on for means to subsist; and to that purpose, that your highness will join with my noble friend to the king. That done, I shall ever be ready either at God's call or his majesty's, and as happy to my thinking as a man can be, that must leave to serve such a king.

God preserve and prosper your highness.

On the back of the draughts of the three preceding letters were written the following memoranda.

Bishops Winchester,* Durham,† London.‡
Lord Duke,§ Lord Hunsdon.

Lord Chamberlain,‖ to thank him for his kind remembrance by you; and though in this private fortune I shall have use of few friends, yet I cannot but acknowledge the moderation and affection his lordship shewed in my business, and desire, that of those few his lordship will still be one for my comfort, in whatsoever may cross his way, for the furtherance of my private life and fortune.

Mr. John Murray. If there be any thing that may concern me, that is fit for him to speak, and me to know, that I may receive it by you.

Mr. Maxwell. That I am sorry, that so soon as I came to know him, and to be beholding to him, I wanted power to be of use to him.

Lord of Kelly; and to acquaint him with that part touching the confinement.

To the King.

It may please your Majesty,

Now that your majesty hath passed the recreation of your progress, there is nevertheless one kind of recreation, which I know remaineth with your majesty all the year; which is to do good, and to exercise your clemency and beneficence. I shall never measure my poor service by the merit, which perhaps is small, but by the acceptation, which hath been always favourably great. I have served your majesty now seventeen years; and since my first service (which was in the commission of the union,) I received from your majesty never chiding or rebuke, but always sweetness and thanks. Neither was I in these seventeen years ever chargeable to your majesty, but got my means in an honourable sweat of my labour, save that of late your majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me the pension of twelve hundred pounds for a few years. For in that other poor prop of my estate, which is the farming of the petty writs, I improved your majesty's revenue by four hundred pounds the year. And likewise, when I received the seal, I left both the attorney's place, which

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* Dr. Andrews.
† Dr. Richard Neile.
‡ Dr. George Mountain.
§ Lenox.
‖ William, Earl of Pembroke.

was a gainful place, and the clerkship of the Star-chamber, which was Queen Elizabeth's favour, and was worth twelve hundred pounds by the year, which would have been a good *commendam*. The honours which your majesty hath done me have put me above the means to get my living; and the misery I am fallen into hath put me below the means to subsist as I am. I hope my courses shall be such, for this little end of my thread which remaineth, as your majesty in doing me good may do good to many, both that live now, and shall be born hereafter. I have been the keeper of your seal, and now am your beadsman. Let your own royal heart, and my noble friend, speak the rest.

God preserve and prosper your Majesty.

Your Majesty's faithful
poor Servant and Beadsman,

September 5, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

Cardinal Wolsey said, that if he had pleased God as he pleased the king, he had not been ruined. My conscience saith no such thing; for I know not but in serving you, I have served God in one. But it may be, if I had pleased God, as I had pleased you, it would have been better with me.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I do very humbly thank your majesty for your gracious remission of my fine. I can now, I thank God and you, die, and make a will.

I desire to do, for the little time God shall send me life, like the merchants of London, which, when they give over trade, lay out their money upon land. So, being freed from civil business, I lay forth my poor talent upon those things which may be perpetual, still having relation to do you honour with those powers I have left.

I have therefore chosen to write the reign of King Henry the VIIth, who was in a sort your forerunner, and whose spirit, as well as his blood, is doubled upon your majesty.

I durst not have presumed to intreat your majesty to look over the book, and correct it, or at least to signify what you would have amended. But since you are pleased to send for the book, I will hope for it.

[*God knoweth whether ever I shall see you again; but I will pray for you to the last gasp, resting]

The same, your true Beadsman,

October 8, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

* This passage has a line drawn over it.

Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln elect, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, to the Viscount St. Alban.

My very good Lord,

Having perused a privy seal, containing a pardon for your lordship, and thought seriously thereupon, I find, that the passing of the same (the assembly in parliament so near approaching*) cannot but be much prejudicial to the service of the king, to the honour of my Lord of Buckingham, to that commiseration, which otherwise would be had of your lordship's present estate, and especially to my judgment and fidelity. I have ever affectionately loved your lordship's many and most excelling good parts and endowments; nor had ever cause to disaffect your lordship's person: so as no respect in the world, beside the former considerations, could have drawn me to add the least affliction or discontentment unto your lordship's present fortune. May it therefore please your lordship to suspend the passing of this pardon, until the next assembly be over and dissolved; and I will be then as ready to seal it as your lordship to accept of it: and, in the mean time, undertake that the king and my Lord Admiral shall interpret this short delay as a service and respect issuing wholly from your lordship; and rest, in all other offices whatsoever,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

Westminster College, October 18, 1621. Jo. LINCOLN. elect. Custos Sigilli.

To the Right Honourable, his very good Lord, the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

To the Lord Keeper.

My very good Lord,

I know the reasons must appear to your lordship many and weighty which should move you to stop the king's grace, or to dissuade it; and somewhat the more in respect of my person, being, I hope, no unfit subject for noble dealing. The message I received by Mr. Meautys did import inconvenience, in the form of the pardon; your lordship's last letter, in the time: for, as for the matter, it lay so fair for his majesty's and my Lord of Buckingham's own knowledge, as I conceive your lordship doth not aim at that. My affliction hath made me understand myself better, and not worse; yet loving advice, I know, helps well. There-

* It met November 24, 1621, and was dissolved February 8, 1621-2.

fore I send Mr. Meautys to your lordship, that I might reap so much your fruit of your lordship's professed good affection, as to know in some more particular fashion, what it is that your lordship doubteth, or disliketh, that I may the better endeavour your satisfaction or acquiescence if there be cause. So I rest

Your Lordship's to do you service,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

October 18, 1621.

Petition of the Lord Viscount St. Alban, intended for the House of Lords.

My right honourable very good Lords,

In all humbleness, acknowledging your lordships' justice, I do now, in like manner, crave and implore your grace and compassion. I am old, weak, ruined, in want, a very subject of pity. My only suit to your lordships is to shew me your noble favour towards the release of my confinement (so every confinement is), and to me, I protest, worse than the Tower.* There I could have had company, physicians, conference with my creditors and friends about my debts, and the necessities of my estate, helps for my studies, and the writings I have in hand. Here, I live upon the sword point of a sharp air, endangered if I go abroad, dulled if I stay within, solitary and comfortless without company, banished from all opportunities to treat with any to do myself good, and to help out any wrecks; and that, which is one of my greatest griefs, my wife, that hath been no partaker of my offending, must be partaker of this misery of my restraint.

May it please your lordships, therefore, since there is a time for justice, and a time for misery, to think with compassion upon that which I have already suffered, which is not little, and to recommend this my humble, and, as I hope, modest suit to his most excellent majesty, the fountain of grace, of whose mercy, for so much as concerns himself merely, I have already tasted, and likewise of his favour of this very kind, by some small temporary dispensations.

Herein your lordships shall do a work of charity and nobility; you shall do me good; you shall do my creditors good; and it may be, you shall do posterity good, if out of

* He had been committed to the Tower in May, 1621, and discharged after two days' confinement there, according to Camden.—*Annales Regis Jacobi I.* p. 71. There is a letter of his lordship to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated from the Tower, May 31, 1621, desiring his lordship to procure his discharge that day.

the carcass of dead and rotten greatness, as out of Samson's lion, there may be honey gathered for the use of future times.

God bless your persons and counsels.

Your Lordships' Supplicant and Servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

Indorsed—*Copy of the Petition intended for the House of Parliament.*

To John Lord Digby.*

My very good Lord,

Receiving, by Mr. Johnson, your loving salutations, it made me call to mind many of your lordship's tokens, yea and pledges, of good and hearty affection in both my fortunes; for which I shall be ever yours. I pray, my lord, if occasion serve, give me your good word to the king, for the release of my confinement, which is to me a very strait kind of imprisonment. I am no Jesuit, nor no leper; but one that served his majesty these sixteen years, even from the commission of the union till this last parliament, and ever had many thanks of his majesty, and was never chidden. This his majesty, I know, will remember at one time or other; for I am his man still.

God keep your Lordship.

Your Lordship's most affectionate to do your service,

Gorhambury, this last of December, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.†

My honourable Lord,

I have received your lordship's letter, and have been long thinking upon it, and the longer, the less able to make answer unto it. Therefore, if your lordship will be pleased to send any understanding man unto me, to whom I may in discourse open myself, I will, by that means, so discover my heart, with all freedom, which were too long to do by letter, especially in this time of parliament business, that your lordship shall receive satisfaction. In the mean time I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Royston, December 16, 1621.

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* Created so in November, 1618, and in September, 1622, Earl of Bristol.

† Harl. MSS, Vol. 7000.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

The reason why I was so desirous to have had conference with your lordship at London, was indeed to save you the trouble of writing: I mean the reason in the second place; for the chief was to see your lordship. But since you are pleased to give me the liberty to send to your lordship one to whom you will deliver your mind, I take that in so good part, as I think myself tied the more to use that liberty modestly. Wherefore, if your lordship will vouchsafe to send to me one of your own (except I might have leave to come to London), either Mr. Packer, my ancient friend, or Mr. Aylesbury,* of whose good affection towards me I have heard report; to me it shall be indifferent. But if your lordship will have one of my nomination, if I might presume so far, I would name, before all others, my Lord of Falkland. But because perhaps it may cost him a journey, which I may not in good manners desire, I have thought of Sir Edward Sackville, Sir Robert Mansell, my brother, Mr. Solicitor General† (who, though he be almost a stranger to me, yet, as my case now is, I had rather employ a man of good nature than a friend), and Sir Arthur Ingram, notwithstanding he be great with my Lord Treasurer. Of these, if your lordship shall be pleased to prick one, I hope well I shall entreat him to attend your lordship, and to be sorry never a whit of the employment. Your lordship may take your own time to signify your will in regard of the present business of parliament. But my time was confined by due respect to write a present answer to a letter, which I construed to be a kind letter, and such as giveth me yet hope to shew myself to your lordship.

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,
Fr. St. Alban.

Indorsed—*To the Lord of Buckingham, in Answer to his of the 16th of December.*

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* Thomas Aylesbury, Esq. secretary to the Marquis of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral. He was created a baronet in 1627. Lord Chancellor Clarendon married his daughter Frances.

† Sir Robert Heath, made solicitor in January 14, 1620-1.

Thomas Meautys, Esq.* to the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

May it please your Lordship,

As soon as I came to London I repaired to Sir Edward Sackville,† whom I find very zealous, as I told your lordship. I left him to do your service, in any particular you shall command him, to my lord marquis (though it were with some adventure); and withal he imparted to me what advice he had given to my lady this afternoon, upon his visiting of her at York House, when Mr. Packer also, as it fell out, was come, at the same time, to see my lady, and seemed to concur with Sir Edward Sackville in the same ways; which were for my lady to become a suitor to my Lady Buckingham,‡ and my lady marchioness § to work my lord marquis for obtaining of the king some bounty towards your lordship; and in particular that of the thousand pounds for the small writs. If I may speak my opinion to your lordship, it is not amiss to begin any way, or with any particular, though but small game at first, only to set a rusty clock a going, and then haply it may go right for a time, enough to bring on the rest of your lordship's requests. Yet because your lordship directed me to wish my lady, from you, by no means to act any thing, but only to open her mind in discourse unto friends, until she should receive your farther direction, it became not me to be too forward in putting it on too fast with Sir Edward; and my lady was pleased to tell me since that she hath written to your lordship at large.

I inquired, even now, of Benbow, whether the proclamation for dissolving the parliament was coming forth. He tells me he knows no more certainty of it, than that Mr. Secretary commanded him yesterday to be ready for dispatching of the writs, when he should be called for; but since then he hears it sticks, and endures some qualms;

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* He had been secretary to the Lord Viscount St. Alban, while his lordship had the great seal, and was afterwards clerk of the council, and knighted. He succeeded his patron in the manor of Gorhambury, which, after the death of Sir Thomas, came to his cousin and heir, Sir Thomas Meautys, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, of Culford Hall, in Suffolk, knight; which lady married a second husband, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, baronet, and Master of the Rolls, who purchased the reversion of Gorhambury from Sir Hercules Meautys, nephew of the second Sir Thomas.

† Afterwards Earl of Dorset, well known for his duel, in 1613, with the Lord Kinloss, in which the latter was killed.

‡ Mary, Countess of Buckingham, mother of the marquis.

§ Catharine, Marchioness of Buckingham, wife of the marquis, and only daughter and heir of Francis, Earl of Rutland.

but they speak it still aloud at court that the king is resolved of it.

Benbow tells me likewise, that he hath attended these two days upon a committee of the lords, with the book of the commission of peace; and that their work is to empty the commission in some counties by the score, and many of them parliament men; which course sure helps to ring the passing bell to the parliament.

Mr. Borough* tells me, he is at this present fain to attend some service for the king, but about Saturday he hopes to be at liberty to wait upon your lordship. I humbly rest

Your Lordship's for ever to honour and serve,

Jaunary 3, 1621. T. MEAUTYS.

To the Right Honourable my most honoured Lord, the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

May it please your Lordship,

This afternoon my lady found access to my lord marquis, procured for her by my Lord of Montgomery† and Sir Edward Sackville, who seemed to contend which of them should shew most patience in waiting (which they did a whole afternoon) the opportunity to bring my lord to his chamber, where my lady attended him. But when he was come, she found time enough to speak at large: and though my lord spake so loud as that what passed was no secret to me and some others that were within hearing, yet, because my lady told me she purposeth to write to your lordship the whole passage, it becomes not me to anticipate, by these, any part of her ladyship's relation.

I send your lordship herewith the proclamation for dissolving the parliament, wherein there is nothing forgotten that we‡ have done amiss; but for most of those things that we have well done, we must be fain, I see, to commend ourselves.

I delivered your lordship's to my Lord of Montgomery and Mr. Matthew, who was even then come to York House to visit my lady, when I received the letter; and, as soon

* John Borough, educated in common law at Gray's Inn, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, Secretary to the Earl Marshal, in 1623 made Norroy; in July the year following knighted, and on the 23d of December, the same year, made Garter King at Arms, in the place of Sir William Segar. He died October 21, 1643.

† Philip, afterwards Earl or Pembroke.

‡ Mr. Meautys was member in this parliament for the town of Cambridge.

as he had read it, he said, that he had rather your lordship had sent him a challenge; and that it had been easier to answer than so noble and kind a letter. He intends to see your lordship some time this week, and so doth Sir Edward Sackville, who is forward to make my lady a way by the prince, if your lordship advise it.

There are packets newly come out of Spain; and the king, they say, seems well pleased with the contents; wherein there is an absolute promise and undertaking for the restitution of the palatinate; the dispensation returned already from the pope, and the match hastened on their parts. My Lord Digby goes shortly; and Mr. Matthew tells me he means, before his going, to write by him to your lordship.

The king goes not till Wednesday, and the prince certainly goes with him. My lord marquis, in person, christens my Lord of Falkland's child to-morrow, at his house by Watford.

Mr. Murray* tells me the king hath given your book† to my Lord Brooke,‡ and enjoined him to read it, recommending it much to him; and then my Lord Brooke is to return it to your lordship; and so it may go to the press when your lordship pleases, with such amendments as the king hath made, which I have seen, and are very few, and those rather words, as *epidemic*, and *mild*, instead of *debonnaire*, &c. Only that of persons attainted, enabled to serve in parliament by a bare reversal of their attainder, the king by all means will have left out. I met with my Lord Brooke, and told him, that Mr. Murray had directed me to wait upon him for the book, when he had done with it. He desired to be spared this week, as being to him a week of much business, and the next week I should have it; and he ended in a compliment, that care should be taken, by all means, for good ink and paper to print it in, for that the book deserveth it.

I beg leave to kiss your lordship's hands.

Your Lordship's in all humbleness
to honour and serve,

January 7, 1621-2. T. Meautys.

This proclamation is not yet sealed; and therefore your lordship may please as yet to keep it in your own hands.

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* Thomas Murray, tutor and secretary to the prince, made provost of Eton College, in the room of Sir Henry Savile, who died February 19, 1621-2. Mr. Murray died likewise, April 1, 1623.

† The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh.

‡ Fulk Grevile.

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My most honoured Lord,

I met, even now, with a piece of news so unexpected, and yet so certainly true, as that, howsoever, I had much ado, at first, to desire the relater to speak probably; yet now I dare send it your lordship upon my credit. It is my Lord of Somerset's and his lady's coming out of the Tower, on Saturday last,* fetched forth by my Lord of Falkland, and without the usual degrees of confinement, at first to some one place,† but absolute and free, to go where they please. I know not how peradventure this might occasion you to cast your thoughts, touching yourself, into some new mould, though not in the main, yet in something on the by.

I beg leave to kiss your lordship's hands.

Your Lordship's, in all humbleness,
for ever to honour and serve you,
T. MEAUTYS.

Lodowic Stuart, Duke of Lenox, to the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My Lord,

It is not unknown to your lordship, that, in respect I am now a married man, I have more reason than before to think of providing me some house in London, whereof I am yet destitute; and for that purpose I have resolved to entreat your lordship, that I may deal with you for York House; wherein I will not offer any conditions to your loss. And, in respect I have understood, that the consideration of your lady's wanting a house hath bred some difficulty in your lordship to part with it, I will for that make offer unto your lordship, and your lady, to use the house in Canon Row, late the Earl of Hertford's, being a very commodious and capable house, wherein I and my wife have absolute power; and whereof your lordship shall have as long time as you can challenge or desire of York House. In this I do freelier deal with your lordship, in respect I know you are well assured of my well wishes to you in general; and that in this particular, though I have not been without thoughts of this house before your lordship had it, yet I was willing to give way to your lordship's more pressing use thereof then. And as I do not doubt of

* January 6, 1621-2. *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I. p.* 77.

† Camden, *ubi supra*, says, "that the earl was ordered to confine himself to the Lord Viscount Wallingford's house, or neighbourhood."

your lordship's endeavour to gratify me in this, so I shall esteem it as an extraordinary courtesy, which I will study to requite by all means.

So, with my best wishes to your lordship, I rest

Your Lordship's most loving Friend,

LENOX.

In respect my Lord of Buckingham was once desirous to have had this house, I would not deal for it till now, that he is otherwise provided.

Whitehall, the 29th of January, 1621.

To the Right Honourable my very good Lord, my Lord Viscount St. Alban.

Answer of the Lord Viscount of St. Alban.

My very good Lord,

I am sorry to deny your grace any thing; but in this you will pardon me. York House is the house wherein my father died, and wherein I first breathed; and there will I yield my last breath, if so please God, and the king will give me leave; though I be now by fortune (as the old proverb is) like a bear in a monk's hood. At least no money, no value, shall make me part with it. Besides, as I never denied it to my lord marquis, so yet the difficulty I made was so like a denial, as I owe unto my great love and respect to his lordship a denial to all my other friends; among whom, in a very near place next his lordship, I ever accounted of your grace. So, not doubting that you will continue me in your former love and good affection, I rest

Your Grace's, to do you humble service,

affectionate, &c.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

As my hopes, since my misfortunes, have proceeded of your lordship's mere motion, without any petition of mine, so I leave the times and the ways to the same good mind of yours. True it is, a small matter for my debts would do me more good now than double a twelvemonth hence. I have lost six thousand pounds by year, besides caps and courtesies. But now a very moderate proportion would suffice; for I still bear a little of the mind of a commissioner of the treasury, not to be overchargable to his majesty; and two things I may assure your lordship of: the one, that I shall lead such a course of life, as whatsoever the king doth for me shall rather sort to his majesty's and

your lordship's honour, than to envy: the other, that whatsoever men talk, I can play the good husband, and the king's bounty shall not be lost. If your lordship think good the prince should come in to help, I know his highness wisheth me well; if you will let me know when, and how he may be used. But the king is the fountain, who, I know, is good.

God prosper you.

Your Lordship's most bounden and faithful,

Gorhambury, January 30, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Your lordship dealeth honourably with me in giving me notice, that your lordship is provided of a house,* whereby you discontinue the treaty your lordship had with me for York House, although I shall make no use of this notice, as to deal with any other. For I was ever resolved your lordship should have had it, or no man. But your lordship doth yet more nobly, in assuring me, you never meant it with any the least inconvenience to myself. May it please your lordship likewise to be assured from me, that I ever desired you should have it, and do still continue of the same mind.

I humbly pray your lordship to move his majesty to take commiseration of my long imprisonment. When I was in the Tower, I was nearer help of physic; I could parley with my creditors; I could deal with friends about my business; I could have helps at hand for my writings and studies, wherein I spend my time; all which here fail me. Good my lord, deliver me out of this; me, who am his majesty's devout beadsman, and

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

Gorhambury, this 3d of Feb. 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

John Selden, Esq. to the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My most honoured Lord,

At your last going to Gorhambury, you were pleased to have speech with me about some passages of parliament; touching which, I conceived, by your lordship, that I should

* Mr. Chamberlain, in a MS. letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated at London, January 19, 1621-2, mentions, that the Marquis of Buckingham had contracted with the Lord and Lady Wallingford, for their house near Whitehall, for some money.

have had farther direction by a gentleman, to whom you committed some care and consideration of your lordship's intentions therein. I can only give this account of it, that never was any man more willing or ready to do your lordship service than myself; and in that you then spake of, I had been most forward to have done whatsoever I had been, by farther direction, used in. But I understood that your lordship's pleasure that way was changed. Since, my lord, I was advised with, touching the judgments given in the late parliament. For them (if it please your lordship to hear my weak judgment expressed freely to you) I conceive thus: First, that admitting it were no session, but only a convention, as the proclamation calls it, yet the judgments given in the upper house (if no other reason be against them) are good; for they are given by the lords, or the upper house, by virtue of that ordinary authority, which they have as the supreme court of judicature; which is easily to be conceived, without any relation to the matter of session, which consists only in the passing of acts, or not passing them, with the royal assent. And though no session of the three states together be without such acts so passed, yet every part of the parliament severally did its own acts legally enough to continue, as the acts of other courts of justice are done. And why should any doubts be, but that a judgment out of the King's Bench, or Exchequer-chamber, reversed there, had been good, although no session? For there was truly a parliament, truly an upper house (which exercised by itself this power of judicature), although no session. Yet withal, my lord, I doubt, it will fall out, upon fuller consideration, to be thought a session also. Were it not for the proclamation, I should be clearly of that mind; neither doth the clause, in the act of subsidy, hinder it. For that only prevented the determination of the session at that instant; but did not prevent the being of a session, whensoever the parliament should be dissolved. But because that point was resolved in the proclamation, and also in the commission of dissolution on the 8th of February, I will rest satisfied.

But there are also examples of former times, that may direct us in that point of the judgment, in regard there is store of judgments of parliament, especially under Edward I. and Edward II. in such conventions as never had, for aught appears, any act passed in them.

Next, my lord, I conceive thus: that by reason there is no record of those judgments, it may be justly thought that

they are of no force. For thus it stands: The lower house exhibited the declarations in paper; and the lords, receiving them, proceeded to judgment verbally; and the notes of their judgments are taken by the clerk, in the journal only; which, as I think, is no record of itself; neither was it ever used as one. Now the record, that in former times was of the judgments and proceedings there, was in this form. The accusation was exhibited in parchment; and being so received, and indorsed, was the first record; and that remained filed among the bills of parliament, it being of itself as the bills in the King's Bench. Then out of this there was a formal judgment, with the accusation entered into that roll, or second record, which the clerk transcribes by ancient use, and sends into the Chancery.

But in this case there are none of these: neither doth any thing seem to help to make a record of it, than only this, that the clerk may enter it, now after the parliament; which, I doubt, he cannot. Because, although in other courts the clerks enter all, and make their records after the term, yet in this parliamentary proceeding it falls out, that the court being dissolved, the clerk cannot be said to have such a relation to the parliament, which is not then at all in being, as the prothonotaries of the courts in Westminster have to their courts, which stand only adjourned. Besides, there cannot be an example found, by which it may appear, that ever any record of the first kind (where the transcript is into the Chancery) was made in parliament; but only sitting the house, and in their view. But this I offer to your lordship's farther consideration, desiring your favourable censure of my fancy herein; which, with whatsoever ability I may pretend to, shall ever be desirous to serve you, to whom I shall perpetually own myself

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

From the Temple, February 14, 1621. J. SELDEN.

My Lord,

If your lordship have done with that *Mascardus de Interpretatione Statutorum*,* I shall be glad that you would give order that I might use it. And for that of 12 Hen. VII. touching the grand council, in the manuscript, I have since seen a privy seal of Henry VII. (without a year) directed to borrow for the king; and in it there is a recital of a grand council, which thought that such a sum was fit to be levied;

* *Alderani Mascardi communes conclusiones utriusque juris ad generalem statutorum interpretationem accommodatæ*: printed at Ferrara, in 1608.

whereof the lords gave forty thousand pounds, and the rest was to be gotten by privy seal upon loan. Doubtless, my lord, this interprets that of the manuscript story.

On the back of this letter are the following notes by the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

"The case of the judgment in parliament, upon a writ of error put by Just. Hu.

"The case of no judgment entered in the Court of Augmentations, or Survey of first Fruits, which are dissolved, where there may be an entry after, out of a paper book.

"*Mem.* All the acts of my proceeding were after the royal assent to the subsidy."

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

Though I have returned answer to your lordship's last letter by the same way by which I received it, yet I humbly pray your lordship to give me leave to add these few lines.

My lord, as God above is witness that I ever have loved and honoured your lordship, as much, I think, as any son of Adam can love or honour any subject, and continue in as hearty and strong wishes of felicity to be heaped and fixed upon you as ever; so, as low as I am, I had rather sojourn in a college in Cambridge, than recover a good fortune by any other but yourself. Marry, to recover yourself to me, if I have you not, or to ease your lordship in any thing, wherein your lordship would not so fully appear, or to be made participant of your favours in your own way, I would use any man that were your lordship's friend: and therefore, good my lord, in that let me not be mistaken. Secondly, if in any of my former letters I have given your lordship any distaste by the style of them, or any particular passages, I humbly pray your lordship's benign construction and pardon. For, I confess, it is my fault, though it be some happiness to me withal, that I do most times forget my adversity. But I shall never forget to be

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant,

March 5, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

May it please your Lordship,

Remembering that the letter your lordship put yesterday into my hand was locked up under two or three seals, it ran in my head, that it might be business of importance,

and require haste; and not finding Mr. Matthew in town, nor any certainty of his return till Monday or Tuesday, I thought it became me to let your lordship know it, that so I might receive your lordship's pleasure (if need were) to send it by as safe a hand as if it had three seals more.

My lord, I saw Sir Arthur Ingram, who let fall somewhat, as if he could have been contented to have received a letter by me from your lordship, with something in it like an acknowledgment to my Lord Treasurer,* that by his means you had received a kind letter from my lord marquis. But, in the close, he came about, and fell rather to excuse what was left out of the letter, than to please himself much with what was within it. Only indeed he looked upon me, as if he did a little distrust my good meaning in it. But that is all one to me; for I have been used to it of late from others, as well as from him. But persons apt to be suspicious may well be borne with; for certainly they trouble themselves most, and lose most by it. For of such it is a hard question, whether those be fewest whom they trust, or those who trust them. But for him, and some others, I will end in a wish, that, as to your lordship's service, they might prove but half so much honester, as they think themselves wiser, than other men.

It is doubtful whether the king will come to-morrow or not; for they say he is full of pain in his feet.

My lord marquis came late to town last night, and goeth back this evening; and Sir Edward Sackville watcheth an opportunity to speak with him before he go. However, he wisheth that your lordship would lose no time in returning an answer, made all of sweetmeats, to my lord marquis's letter, which, he is confident, will be both tasted and digested by him. And Sir Edward wisheth that the other letter to my lord marquis, for presenting your discourse of laws to his majesty, might follow the first. I humbly rest

Your Lordship's for ever truly
to honour and serve you,

Martii, 3, 1621. THO. MEAUTYS.

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

May it please your Lordship,

I had not failed to appear this night, upon your lordship's summons, but that my stay till to-morrow, I knew, would mend my welcome, by bringing Mr. Matthew, who means

* Lionel Lord Cranfield, made Lord Treasurer in October, 1621.

to dine with your lordship only, and so to rebound back to London, by reason my Lord Digby's journey calls for him on the sudden. Neither yet was this all that stayed me; for I hear somewhat that I like reasonably well; and yet I hope it will mend too; which is, that my lord marquis hath sent you a message by my Lord of Falkland (which is a far better hand than my Lord Treasurer's), that gives you leave to come presently to Highgate: and Sir Edward Sackville, speaking for the other five miles, my lord, commended his care and zeal for your lordship, but silenced him thus: "Let my lord be-ruled by me: it will be never the worse for him." But my lord marquis saying farther to him, "Sir Edward, however you play a good friend's part for my Lord St. Alban, yet I must tell you, I have not been well used by him." And Sir Edward desiring of him to open himself in whatsoever he might take offence at; and withal, taking upon him to have known so much, from time to time, of your lordship's heart, and endeavours towards his lordship, as that he doubted not but he was able to clear any mist that had been cast before his lordship's eyes by your enemies; my lord marquis, by this time being ready to go to the Spanish ambassador's to dinner, broke off with Sir Edward, and told him, that after dinner he would be back at Wallingford House, and then he would tell Sir Edward more of his mind; with whom I have had newly conference at large, and traced out to him, as he desired me, some particulars of that which they call a treaty with my Lord Treasurer about York House, which Sir Edward Sackville knows how to put together, and make a smooth tale of it for your lordship: and this night I shall know all from him, and to-morrow, by dinner, I shall not fail to attend your lordship: till when, and ever, I rest

Your Lordship's in all truth
to honour and serve you,
T. MEAUTYS.

Indorsed—*Received March* 11.

To Henry Cary, Lord Viscount Falkland.*

My very good Lord,

Your lordship's letter was the best letter I received this good while, except the last kind letter from my Lord of Buckingham, which this confirmeth. It is the best accident, one of them, amongst men, when they hap to be

* Appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, September 8, 1622.

obliged to those, whom naturally and personally they love, as I ever did your lordship; in troth not many between my lord marquis and yourself; so that the sparks of my affection shall ever rest quick, under the ashes of my fortune, to do you service; and wishing to your fortune and family all good.

Your Lordship's most affectionate
and much obliged, &c.

I pray your lordship to present my humble service and thanks to my lord marquis, to whom, when I have a little paused, I purpose to write; as likewise to his majesty, for whose health and happiness, as his true beadsman, I most frequently pray.

Indorsed—*March* 11. *Copy of my answer to Lord Falkland.*

To the Lord Treasurer.*

My very good Lord,

I have received, by my noble friend, my Lord Viscount Falkland, advertisement, as from my lord marquis, of three things; the one, that upon his lordship's motion to his majesty, he is graciously pleased to grant some degree of release of my confinement. The second, that if I shall gratify your lordship, who, my lord understandeth, are desirous to treat with me about my house at London, with the same, his lordship will take it as well, as if it was done to himself. The third, that his majesty hath referred unto your lordship the consideration of the relief of my poor estate. I have it also from other part, yet by such, as have taken it immediately from my lord marquis, that your lordship hath done me to the king very good offices. My lord, I am much bounden to you: wherefore if you shall be pleased to send Sir Arthur Ingram, who formerly moved me in it for your lordship, to treat farther with me, I shall let your lordship see how affectionately I am desirous to pleasure your lordship after my Lord of Buckingham.

So wishing your lordship's weighty affairs, for his majesty's service, a happy return to his majesty's contentment and your honour, I rest

Your Lordship's very affectionate
to do you service,
Fr. St. Alban.

Indorsed—*March* 12. *To the Lord Treasurer.*

* Lionel, Lord Cranfield.

To the Lord Treasurer.

My very good Lord,

The honourable correspondence, which your lordship hath been pleased to hold with my noble and constant friend, my lord marquis, in furthering his majesty's grace towards me, as well concerning my liberty as the consideration of my poor estate, hath very much obliged me to your lordship, the more by how much the less likelihood there is, that I shall be able to merit it at your lordship's hands. Yet thus much I am glad of, that this course, your lordship holds with me, doth carry this much upon itself, that the world shall see in this, amongst other things, that you have a great and noble heart.

For the particular business of York House, Sir Arthur Ingram can bear me witness, that I was ready to leave the conditions to your lordship's own making: but since he tells me plainly, that your lordship will by no means have to be so, you will give me leave to refer it to Sir Arthur Ingram, who is so much your lordship's servant, and no less faithful friend to me, and understands values well, to set a price between us.

For the reference his majesty hath been graciously pleased, at my lord marquis's suit, to make unto your lordship, touching the relief of my poor estate,* which my Lord of Falkland's letter hath signified, warranting me likewise to address myself to your lordship touching the same; I humbly pray your lordship to give it dispatch, my age, health, and fortunes, making time to me therein precious. Wherefore, if your lordship (who knoweth best what the king may best do) have thought of any particular, I would desire to know from your good lordship: otherwise I have fallen myself upon a particular, which I have related to Sir Arthur, and, I hope, will seem modest, for my help to live and subsist. As for somewhat towards the paying off my debts, which are now my chief care, and without charge of the king's coffers, I will not now trouble your lordship; but purposing to be at Chiswick, where I have taken a house, within this sevennight, I hope to wait upon your lordship, and to gather some violets in your garden, and will then impart unto you, if I have thought of any thing of that nature for my good.

So I ever rest, &c.

* The Lord Viscount St. Alban, in a letter to the king, from Gorhambury, 20th of March, 1621-2, thanks his majesty for *referring the consideration of his broken estate to his good lord, the Lord Treasurer.*

Thomas Meautys, Esq. to the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

May it please your Lordship,

I have been attending upon my lord marquis's minutes for the signing of the warrant. This day he purposed in earnest to have done it; but it falls out untowardly, for the warrant was drawn, as your lordship remembers, in haste at Gorhambury, and in as much haste delivered to Sir Edward Sackville, as soon as I alighted from my horse, who instantly put it into my lord marquis's hands, so that no copy could possibly be taken of it by me. Now his lordship hath searched much for it, and is yet at a loss, which I knew not till six this evening: and because your lordship drew it with caution, I dare not venture it upon my memory to carry level what your lordship wrote, and therefore dispatched away this messenger, that so your lordship, by a fresh post, (for this will hardly do it) may send a warrant to your mind, ready drawn, to be here to-morrow by seven o'clock, as Sir Arthur* tells me my lord marquis hath directed: for the king goes early to Hampton Court, and will be here on Saturday.

Your books† are ready, and passing well bound up. If your lordship's letters to the king, prince, and my lord marquis were ready, I think it were good to lose no time in their delivery; for the printer's fingers itch to be selling.

My lady hath seen the house at Chiswick, and they make a shift to like it: only she means to come to your lordship thither, and not to go first: and therefore your lordship may please to make the more haste, for the great lords long to be in York House.

Mr. Johnson will be with your lordship to-morrow; and then I shall write the rest.

Your Lordship's in all humbleness
and honour to serve you.

To Thomas Meautys, Esq.

Good Mr. Meautys,

For the difference of the warrant, it is not material at the first. But I may not stir till I have it; and therefore I expect it to-morrow.

For my Lord of London's‡ stay, there may be an error in my book; § but I am sure there is none in me, since the

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* Ingram. † History of the Reign of King Henry VII.
‡ Dr. George Mountain. § His History of the Reign of King Henry VII.

king had it three months by him, and allowed it: if there be any thing to be mended, it is better to be espied now than hereafter.

I send you the copies of the three letters, which you have; and, in mine own opinion, this demur, as you term it, in my Lord of London, maketh it more necessary than before, that they were delivered, specially in regard they contain withal my thanks. It may be signified they were sent before I knew of any stay; and being but in those three hands, they are private enough. But this I leave merely at your discretion, resting

Your most affectionate and assured Friend,

March 21, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

Good Mr. Matthew,

I do make account, God willing, to be at Chiswick on Saturday; or, because this weather is terrible to one that hath kept much in, Monday.

In my letter of thanks to my lord marquis, which is not yet delivered, but to be forthwith delivered, I have not forgotten to mention, that I have received signification of his noble favour and affection, amongst other ways, from yourself, by name. If, upon your repair to the court (whereof I am right glad,) you have any speech with the marquis of me, I pray place the alphabet (as you can do it right well) in a frame, to express my love faithful and ardent towards him. And for York House, that whether in a straight line, or a compass line, I meant it his lordship in the way which I thought might please him best. I ever rest

Your most affectionate and assured Friend,

March 21, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Queen of Bohemia.

It may please your Majesty,

I find in books (and books I dare allege to your majesty, in regard of your singular ability to read and judge of them even above your sex) that it is accounted a great bliss for a man to have leisure with honour. That was never my fortune, nor is. For time was, I had honour without leisure; and now I have leisure without honour. And I cannot say so neither altogether, considering there remain with me the marks and stamp of the king's, your father's, grace, though I go not for so much in value as I have done. But my desire is now to have leisure without

loitering, and not to become an abbey-lubber, as the old proverb was, but to yield some fruit of my private life. Having therefore written the reign of your majesty's famous ancestor, King Henry the Seventh; and it having passed the file of his majesty's judgment, and been graciously also accepted of the prince, your brother, to whom it is dedicated, I could not forget my duty so far to your excellent majesty (to whom, for that I know and have heard, I have been at all times so much bound, as you are ever present with me, both in affection and admiration) as not to make unto you, in all humbleness, a present thereof, as now being not able to give you tribute of any service. If King Henry the Seventh were alive again, I hope verily he could not be so angry with me for not flattering him, as well pleased in seeing himself so truly described in colours that will last, and be believed. I most humbly pray your majesty graciously to accept of my good will; and so, with all reverence, kiss your hands, praying to God above, by his divine and most benign providence, to conduct your affairs to happy issue; and resting

Your Majesty's most humble
and devoted Servant,

April 20, 1622. FR. ST. ALBAN.

Sir Edward Sackville to the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My very honoured Lord,

Longing to yield an account of my stewardship, and that I had not buried your talent in the ground, I waited yesterday the marquis's pleasure, until I found a fit opportunity to importune some return of his lordship's resolution. The morning could not afford it; for time only allowed leave to tell him, I would say something. In the afternoon I had amends for all. In the forenoon he laid the law, but in the afternoon he preached the gospel; when, after some revivations of the old distaste concerning York House, he most nobly opened his heart unto me, wherein I read that which argued much good towards you. After which revelation, the book was again sealed up, and must, in his own time, only by himself be again manifested unto you. I have leave to remember some of the vision, and am not forbidden to write it. He vowed, not court-like, but constantly, to appear your friend so much, as if his majesty should abandon the care of you, you should share his fortune with him. He pleased to tell me, how much he had been beholden to you; how well he loved you; how unkindly he took the

denial of your house (for so he will needs understand it). But the close, for all this, was harmonious, since he protested he would seriously begin to study your ends, now that the world should see he had no ends on you. He is in hand with the work, and therefore will, by no means, accept of your offer; though, I can assure you, the tender hath much won upon him, and mellowed his heart towards you; and your genius directed you right, when you wrote that letter of denial unto the duke.* The king saw it; and all the rest; which made him say unto the marquis, you played an after game well; and that now he had no reason to be much offended.

I have already talked of the revelation, and now am to speak in apocalyptical language, which I hope you will rightly comment; whereof, if you make difficulty, the bearer † can help you with the key of the cypher.

My lord Falkland, by this time, hath shewed you London from Highgate. If York House were gone, the town were yours; and all your straitest shackles cleared off, besides more comfort than the city air only. The marquis would be exceedingly glad the Treasurer had it. This I know; but this you must not know from me. Bargain with him presently, upon as good conditions as you can procure, so you have direct motion from the marquis to let him have it. Seem not to dive into the secret of it; though you are purblind if you see not through it. I have told Mr. Meautys, how I would wish your lordship to make an end of it. From him, I beseech you, take it, and from me only the advice to perform it. If you part not speedily with it, you may defer the good, which is approaching near you, and disappointing other aims (which must either shortly receive content, or never,) perhaps anew yield matter of discontent, though you may be indeed as innocent as before. Make the Treasurer believe, that since the marquis will by no means accept of it, and that you must part with it, you are more willing to pleasure him than any body else, because you are given to understand my lord marquis so inclines; which inclination, if the Treasurer shortly send unto you about it, desire may be more clearly manifested, than as yet it hath been; since, as I remember, none hitherto hath told you *in terminis terminantibus*, that the marquis desires you should gratify the Treasurer. I know that way the hare runs; and that my lord marquis longs

* Of Lenox, of the 30th of January, 1621-2. † Probably Mr. Meautys.

until Cranfield hath it; and so I wish too, for your good, yet would not it were absolutely passed, until my Lord Marquis did send, or write, unto you, to let him have it; for then, his so disposing of it were but the next degree removed from the immediate acceptance of it, and your lordship freed from doing it otherwise than to please him, and to comply with his own will and way.

I have no more to say, but that I am, and ever will be

Your Lordship's most affectionate Friend
and humble Servant,
E. SACKVILLE.

Indorsed—*Received the 11th of May*, 1622.

To the Lord Keeper, Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln.

My very good Lord,

I understand there is an extent prayed against me, and a surety of mine, by the executors of one Harrys, a goldsmith. The statute is twelve years old, and falleth to an executor, or an executor of an executor, I know not whether. And it was sure a statute collected out of a shop-debt, and much of it paid. I humbly pray your lordship, according to justice and equity, to stay the extent, being likewise upon a double penalty, till I may better inform myself touching a matter so long past; and if it be requisite, put in a bill, that the truth of the account appearing, such satisfaction may be made as shall be fit. So I rest

Your Lordship's affectionate
to do you faithful service,
FR. ST. ALBAN.

May 30, 1622.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I thought it appertained to my duty, both as a subject and as he that took once the oath of counsellor, to make known to your lordship an advertisement which came to me this morning. A gentleman, a dear friend of mine, whom your lordship cannot but imagine, though I name him not, told me thus much, that some English priests that nogotiated at Rome to facilitate the dispensation, did their own business (that was his phrase); for they negotiated with the pope to erect some titulary bishops for England, that might ordain, and have other spiritual faculties; saying withal most honestly, that he thought himself bound to

impart this to some counsellor, both as a loyal subject, and as a catholic; for that he doubted it might be a cause to cross the graces and mercies which the catholics now enjoy, if it be not prevented: and he asked my advice, whether he should make it known to your lordship, or to my Lord Keeper,* when he came back to London. I commended his loyalty and discretion, and wished him to address himself to your lordship, who might communicate it with my Lord Keeper, if you saw cause, and that he repaired to your lordship presently, which he resolved to do. Nevertheless, I did not think mine own particular duty acquitted, except I certified it also myself, borrowing so much of private friendship in a cause of state, as not to tell him I would do so much.

Indorsed—*My letter to my Lord Marquis, touching the business of estate advertised by Mr. Matthew.*†

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My most honoured Lord,

I come in these to your lordship with the voice of thanksgiving for the continuance of your accustomed noble care of me and my good, which overtakes me, I find, whithersoever I go. But for the present itself (whereof your lordship writes,) whether or no it be better than that I was wont to bring your lordship, the end only can prove. For I have yet no more to shew for it than good words, of which many times I brought your lordship good store. But because *modicefideans* were not made to thrive in court, I mean to lose no time from assailing my Lord Marquis, for which purpose I am now hovering about New-hall,‡ where his lordship is expected (but not the king) this day, or to-morrow: which place, as your lordship adviseth, may not be ill chosen for my business. For, if his lordship be not very thick of hearing, sure New-hall will be heard to speak for me.

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* Dr Williams, Bishop of Lincoln.

† The date of this letter may be pretty nearly determined by one of the Lord Keeper to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated August 23, 1622, and printed in the *Cabala*. The postscript to that letter is as follows: "The Spanish ambassador took the alarm very speedily of the titulary Roman bishop; and before my departure from his house at Islington, whither I went privately to him, did write both to Rome and Spain to prevent it. But I am afraid, that Tobie will prove but an apocryphal, and no canonical, intelligencer, acquainting the state with this project for the Jesuits', rather than for Jesus's sake."

‡ In Essex.

And now, my good lord, if any thing make me diffident, or indeed almost indifferent how it succeeds, it is this; that my sole ambition having ever been, and still is, to grow up only under your lordship, it is become preposterous, even to my nature and habit, to think of prospering, or receiving any growth, either without or besides your lordship. And therefore let me claim of your lordship to do me this right, as to believe that which my heart says, or rather swears to me, namely, that what addition soever, by God's good providence comes at any time to my life or fortune, it is, in my account, but to enable me the more to serve your lordship in both; at whose feet I shall ever humbly lay down all that I have, or am, never to rise thence other than

Your Lordship's in all duty and reverent affections,

September 11, 1622. T. MEAUTYS.

To the Countess of Buckingham,* mother to the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very honourable good Lady,

Your ladyship's late favour and noble usage towards me were such, as I think your absence a great part of my misfortunes. And the more I find my most noble lord, your son, to increase in favour towards me, the more out of my love to him, I wish he had often by him so loving and wise a mother. For if my lord were never so wise, as wise as Solomon; yet, I find, that Solomon himself, in the end of his Proverbs, sets down a whole chapter of advices that his mother taught him.

Madam, I can but receive your remembrance with affection, and use your name with honour, and intend you my best service, if I be able, ever resting

Your Ladyship's humble
and affectionate Servant,

Bedford House,
this 29th of October, 1622. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I have many things to thank your lordship for, since I had the happiness to see you; that your lordship, before your going out of town, sent my memorial to my Lord

* Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, a younger son of William Beaumont of Cole-Orton in Leicestershire. She was thrice married: 1. to Sir George Villiers, father of the Duke of Buckingham: 2. to Sir William Rayner: and 3. to Sir Thomas Compton, Knight of the Bath, a younger brother of William, Earl of Northampton. She was created Countess of Buckingham, July 1, 1618; and died April 19, 1632.

Treasurer: that your lordship offered, and received, and presented my petition to the king, and procured me a reference: that your lordship moved his majesty, and obtained for me access to him, against his majesty comes next, which, in mine own opinion is better than if it had been now, and will be a great comfort to me, though I should die next day after: that your lordship gave me so good English for my Latin book. My humble request is, at this time, that because my Lord Treasurer keepeth yet his answer in suspense (though by one he useth to me, he speaketh me fair,) that your lordship would nick it with a word: for if he do me good, I doubt it may not be altogether of his own. God ever prosper you.

Your Lordship's most bounden
and faithful Servant,

4th of November, 1622. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My most honoured Lord,

Since my last to your lordship, I find by Mr. Johnson, that my Lord Treasurer is not twice in one mind, or Sir Arthur Ingram not twice in one tale. For Sir Arthur, contrary to his speech but yesterday with me, puts himself now, as it seems, in new hopes to prevail with my Lord Treasurer for your Lordship's good and advantage, by a proposition sent by Mr. Johnson, for the altering of your patent to a new mould, more safe than the other, which he seemed to dissuade, as I wrote to your lordship. I like my Lord Treasurer's heart to your lordship, so much every day worse than other, especially for his coarse usage of your lordship's name in his last speech, as that I cannot imagine he means you any good. And therefore, good my lord, what directions you shall give herein to Sir Arthur Ingram, let them be as safe ones as you can think upon; and that your lordship surrender not your old patent, till you have the new under seal, lest my Lord Keeper should take toy, and stop it there. And I know your lordship cannot forget they have such a savage word among them as *fleecing*. God in heaven bless your lordship from such hands and tongues; and then things will mend of themselves.

Your Lordship's, in all humbleness,
to honour and serve you,

This Sunday Morning. T. MEAUTYS.

Indorsed—*25th of November*, 1622.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I find my Lord Treasurer, after so many days and appointments, and such certain messages and promises, doth but mean to coax me (it is his own word of old) and to saw me asunder, and to do just nothing upon his majesty's gracious reference, nobly procured by your lordship for this poor remnant. My lord, let it be your own deed; and to use the prayers of the Litany, good Lord deliver me from this servile dependance; for I had rather beg and starve, than be fed at that door. God ever prosper your lordship.

Your Lordship's most bounden
and faithful Servant,

Bedford House, this FR. ST. ALBAN.

Indorsed—*To Buckingham, about Lord Treasurer Cranfield's using of him.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

I perceive this day by Mr. Comptroller,* that I live continually in your lordship's remembrance and noble purposes concerning my fortunes, as well for the comfort of my estate, as for countenancing me otherwise by his majesty's employments and graces; for which I most humbly kiss your hands, leaving the times to your good lordship; which, considering my age and wants, I assure myself your lordship will the sooner take into your care. And for my house at Gorhambury, I do infinitely desire your lordship should have it; and howsoever I may treat, I will conclude with none, till I know your lordship's farther pleasure, ever resting

Your Lordship's most obliged
and faithful Servant,

Bedford House,
this 5th of Feb. 1622.† FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My very good Lord,

I have received by this bearer, the privy seal for the survey of coals, which I will lay aside, until I shall hear farther from my Lord Steward,‡ and the rest of the lords.

I am ready to do as much as your lordship desireth, in

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* Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland.

† Two days before the Marquis of Buckingham set out privately with the prince, for Spain.

‡ Duke of Lenox.

keeping Mr. Cotton* off from the violence of those creditors: only himself is, as yet, wanting in some particular directions.

I heartily thank your lordship for your book; and all other symbols of your love and affection, which I will endeavour, upon all opportunities, to deserve: and in the mean time do rest

Your Lordship's assured faithful
poor Friend and Servant,
JO. LINCOLN, C. S.

Westminster College,
this 7th of February, 1622.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

Though your lordship's absence† fall out in an ill time for myself; yet because I hope in God this noble adventure will make your lordship a rich return in honour, abroad and at home, and chiefly in the inestimable treasure of the love and trust of that thrice-excellent prince; I confess I am so glad of it, as I could not abstain from your lordship's trouble in seeing it expressed by these few and hasty lines.

I beseech your lordship, of your nobleness vouchsafe to present my most humble duty to his highness, who, I hope, ere long will make me leave King Henry the Eighth, and set me on work in relation of his highness's adventures.

I very humbly kiss your lordship's hands, resting ever

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend and Servant.

February 21, 1622.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

Upon the repair of my Lord of Rochford unto your lordship, whom I have ever known so fast and true a friend and servant unto you; and who knows likewise so much of my mind and affection towards your lordship, I could not but kiss your lordship's hands, by the duty of these few lines.

My lord, I hope in God, that this your noble adventure will make you a rich return, especially in the inestimable treasure of the love and trust of that thrice-excellent prince. And although to a man, that loves your lordship so dearly as I do, and knows somewhat of the world, it cannot be, but that in my thoughts there should arise many fears, or

* Probably the surety of Lord Bacon, for the debt to Harrys the goldsmith, mentioned in his lordship's letter of May 30, 1622.

† In Spain.

shadows of fears, concerning so rare an accident; yet nevertheless, I believe well, that this your lordship's absence will rather be a glass unto you, to shew you many things, whereof you may make use hereafter, than otherwise any hurt or hazard to your fortunes, which God grant. For myself, I am but a man desolate till your return, and have taken a course accordingly. Vouchsafe, of your nobleness, to remember my most humble duty to his highness. And so God, and his holy angels guard you, both going and coming.

Indorsed—*March* 10, 1622.

To Sir Francis Cottington, Secretary to the Prince.

Good Mr. Secretary,

Though I wrote so lately unto you, by my Lord Rochford; yet, upon the going of my Lord Vaughan,* the prince's worthy and trusty servant, and my approved friend, and your so near ally, I could not but put this letter into his hand, commending myself and my fortunes unto you. You know the difference of obliging men in prosperity and adversity, as much as the sowing upon a pavement and upon a furrow new made. Myself for quiet, and the better to hold out, am retired to Grey's Inn:† for when my chief friends were gone so far off, it was time for me to go to a cell. God send us a good return of you all.

I ever rest, &c.

My humble service to my Lord Marquis, to whom I have written twice. I would not cloy him My service also to the Count Gondomar, and Lord of Bristol.

Indorsed—*To Mr. Secretary, Sir Francis Cottington, March* 22, 1622.

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* He was son and heir of Walter Vaughan, of Golden Grove, in Caermarthenshire, Esq.; and was created Lord Vaughan in the year 1620. The Lord St. Alban, after he was delivered from his confinement in the Tower, was permitted to stay at Sir John Vaughan's house at Parson's Green, near Fulham.

† In a MS. letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated at London, March 8, 1622-3, is the following passage: "The Lord of St. Alban is in his old remitter, and came to lie in his old lodgings in Grey's Inn: which is the fulfilling of a prophecy of one Locke, a familiar of his, of the same house, that knew him *intus et in cute;* who, seeing him go thence in pomp, with the great seal before him, said to divers of his friends, *we shall live to have him here again.*"

To the King.

It may please your Majesty,

Now that my friend is absent (for so I may call him still, since your majesty, when I waited on you, told me, that fortune made no difference) your majesty remaineth to me king, and master, and friend, and all. Your beadsman therefore addresseth himself to your majesty for a cell to retire into. The particular I have expressed to my very friend, Mr. Secretary Conway. This help, which costs your majesty nothing, may reserve me to do your majesty service, without being chargeable unto you; for I will never deny but my desire to serve your majesty is of the nature of the heart, that will be *ultimum moriens* with me.

God preserve your majesty, and send you a good return of the treasure abroad, which passeth all Indian fleets.

Your Majesty's most humble and devoted Servant,

March 25, 1623. FR. ST. ALBAN.

Indorsed—*To the King, touching the Provostship of Eton.**

To Mr. Secretary Conway.

Good Mr. Secretary,

When you did me the honour and favour to visit me, you did not only in general terms express your love unto me, but, as a real friend, asked me, whether I had any particular occasion, wherein I might make use of you? At that time I had none: now there is one fallen. It is, that Mr. Thomas Murray, provost of Eton (whom I love very well) is like to die. It were a pretty cell for my fortune. The college and school, I do not doubt, but I shall make to flourish. His majesty, when I waited on him, took notice of my wants, and said to me, that, as he was a king, he would have care of me. This is a thing somebody would have, and costs his majesty nothing. I have written two or three words to his majesty, which I would pray you to deliver. I have not expressed this particular to his majesty, but referred it to your relation. My most noble friend, the marquis, is now absent. Next to him I could not think of a better address than to yourself, as one likest to put on his affection. I rest

Your Honour's very affectionate Friend,

Gray's Inn, the 25th of March, 1623. FR. ST. ALBAN.†

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* Mr. Thomas Murray, the provost of that college, having been cut for the stone, died April 1, 1623.

† To this letter Secretary Conway wrote an answer, acquainting the Lord Viscount St. Alban, that the king could not value his lordship so little, or conceive that he limited his desires so low; in which, however, he should have

To Count Gondomar, then in Spain.

Illustrissime Comes,

Multa sunt, quæ mihi animos addunt, et quandam alacritatem conciliant, ut dominationem tuam illustrissimam hoc tempore de meis fortunis compellam et deprecer. Primum, idque vel maximum, quod cum tam arcta regum nostrorum conjunctio jam habeatur pro transactâ, inde et tu factus sis intercessor tanto potentior; et mihi nullus jam subsit scrupulus universas fortunas meas viro tanto, licet extero, debendi et acceptas referendi. Secundum, quod cum ea, quæ dominatio tua illustrissima de me promisso tenus præsens impetraveras, neque ullam repulsam passa sint, neque tamen ad exitum perducta; videatur hoc innuere providentia divina, ut hoc opus me à calamitate eximendi planè tuum sit initio et fine. Tertium, quod stellæ duæ, quæ mihi semper fuerunt propitiæ, major et minor, jam splendent in urbe vestra, unde per radios auxiliares et benignos amoris erga me tui eum possint nancisci influxum, qui me in aliquo non indigno priore fortuna gradu collocet. Quartum, quod perspexi ex literis, quas ad amicum meum intimum Dominum Tobium Matthæum nuper scripsisti, memoriam mei apud te vivere et vigere, neque tantâ negotiorum arduorum et sublimium mole, quanta dom. tuæ incumbit, obrutam esse aut extinctam. Postremum accidit et illud, quod postquam ex favore excellent. domini marchionis ad regis mei conspectum et colloquium admissus fuerim, videar mihi in statu gratiæ collocatus. Non me allocutus est rex ut criminosum, sed ut hominem tempestate dejectum; et simul constantem meum et perpetuum in sermone suo industriæ et integritatis tenorem prolixè agnovit, cum insigni, ut videbatur, affectu: unde major mihi oboritur spes, manente ejus erga me gratiâ, et extinctâ omni ex diuturnitate invidiâ, labores illustr. domin. tuæ pro me non incassum fore. Ipse interim nec otio me dedi, nec rebus me importunè immiscui, sed in iis vivo, et ea tracto, quæ nec priores, quos gessi, honores dedeceant, et posteris memoriam nominis mei haud ingratam fortasse relinquent. Itaque spero me non indignam fore materiam, in quâ et potentiæ et amicitiæ tuæ vis

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been gratified had not the king been engaged, by the Marquis of Buckingham, for Sir William Becher, his agent in France.—See *Account of the Life of the Lord Bacon*, p. 26, prefixed to the edition of his *Letters, Memoirs*, &c. by Robert Stephens, Esq. The Duke of Buckingham himself, likewise, after his return from Spain, in a letter to the Lord Viscount St. Alban, dated at Hinchinbrook, October 27, 1623, expresses his concern that he could do his lordship no service in that affair, "having engaged myself, *says he*, to Sir William Becher, before my going into Spain; so that I cannot free myself, unless there were means to give him satisfaction."

elucescat et celebretur; ut non non minus in privatâ hominis fortunâ potuisse videaris, quam in negotiis publicis. Deus illustriss. dominationem tuam incolumem servet et felicitate cumulet.

Indorsed—*My Lord St. Alban's first letter to Gondomar, into Spain, March* 28, 1623.

To the Marquis of Buckingham, in Spain.

Excellent Lord,

Finding so trusty a messenger as Sir John Epsley, I thought it my duty to put these few lines into his hands. I thank God, that those shadows, which either mine own melancholy, or my extreme love to your lordship, did put into my mind concerning this voyage of the prince and your lordship, rather vanish and diminish than otherwise. The gross fear is past of the passage of France. I think you had the ring which they write of, that, when the seal was turned to the palm of the hand, made men go invisible. Neither do I hear of any novelty here worth the esteeming.

There is a general opinion here that your lordship is like enough to return, and go again, before the prince come: which opinion, whether the business lead you to do so, or no, doth no hurt; for it keeps men in awe.

I find, I thank God, some glimmering of the king's favour, which your lordship's noble work of my access, no doubt, did chiefly cherish. I am much bound to Mr. Secretary Conway. It is wholly for your lordship's sake, for I had no acquaintance with him in the world. By that I see of him, he is a man fit to serve a great king, and fit to be a friend and servant to your lordship. Good my lord, write two or three words to him, both of thanks, and a general recommendation of me unto him.

Vouchsafe, of your nobleness, to present my most humble duty to his highness. We hear he is fresh in his person, and becomes this brave journey in all things. God provide all things for the best.

I ever rest, &c.

Indorsed—*March* 30, 1623.

To Mr. Secretary Conway.

Good Mr. Secretary,

I am much comforted by your last letter, wherein I find that his majesty, of his mere grace and goodness, vouchsafeth to have a care of me, a man out of sight, out of use; but yet his, as the Scripture saith, God knows those that are his. In particular, I am very much bound to his

majesty (and I pray you, sir, thank his majesty most humbly for it) that, notwithstanding the former designment of Sir William Becher,* his majesty (as you write) is not out of hope, in due time, to accommodate me of this cell, and to satisfy him otherwise. Many conditions, no doubt, may be as contenting to that gentleman, and his years may expect them. But there will hardly fall, especially in the spent hourglass of my life, any thing so fit for me, being a retreat to a place of study so near London, and where (if I sell my house at Gorhambury, as I purpose to do, to put myself in some convenient plenty) I may be accommodate of a dwelling for summer time. And therefore, good Mr. Secretary, further this his majesty's good intention, by all means, if the place fall.

For yourself, you have obliged me much. I will endeavour to deserve it: at least your nobleness is never lost; and my noble friend, the marquis, I know, will thank you for it.

I was looking of some short papers of mine touching usury,† to grind the teeth of it, and yet make it grind to his majesty's mill in good sort, without discontentment or perturbation. If you think good, I will send it to his majesty, as the fruit of my leisure. But yet I would not have it come from me, not for any tenderness in the thing, but because I know, in courts of princes, it is usual, *non res, sed displicet auctor.* God keep your honour, &c.

Indorsed—*To Mr. Secretary Conway, touching the Provostship of Eton, March* 31, 1623.

To Count Gondomar.

Illustrissime Comes,

Primo loco, ut debeo, gratulor dominationi tuæ illustrissimæ novum honoris tui gradum per se sublimem, sed ex causâ, propter quam evectus es, haud parum nobilitatum.

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* Sir Willam had not, however, that post, but, in lieu of it, the promise of two thousand five hundred pounds, upon the fall of the first of the six clerks places, and was permitted to keep his clerkship of the council.—*MS. Letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated at London, July* 24, 1624. The provostship was given to Sir Henry Wotton, who was instituted into it the 26th of that month, having purchased it by a surrender of a grant of the reversion of the mastership of the Rolls, and of another office, which was fit to be turned into present money, which he then, and afterwards, much wanted [*Life of him by Mr. Isaac Walton:*] for when he went to the election at Eton, soon after his being made provost, he was so ill provided, that the fellows of the college were obliged to furnish his bare walls, and whatever else was wanting.—*MS. Letter of Mr. Chamberlain, Aug.* 7, 1624.

† In his works is published, *A Draught of an Act against an usurious Shift of Gain, in delivering of Commodities instead of Money.*

Profectio Dom. Tobiæ Matthæi, qui mihi est tanquam alter ego, ut dominatio tua illustrissima optimè novit, in illas partes, memoriam mihi renovat eximii tui erga me favoris, cum me pluries, paulo ante discessum tuum, in campis, in urbe visitares, et prolixè de voluntate tuâ erga fortunas meas pollicereris. Quinetiam tam apud regem meum quam apud marchionem de illis sedulo ageres, ut etiam promissum ab illis de postulatis meis obtinueris. Quod si illo tempore quis mihi genius aut vates in aurem insusurrasset et dixisset, Mitte ista in præsens. Britannia est regio paulo frigidior: differ rem donec Princeps Galliæ et Marchio Buckinghamiæ et Comes de Gondomar conveniunt in Hispaniâ, ubi hujusmodi fructus clementius maturescant: quin et viderit idem Dom. Tob. Matthæum, qui illic, quemadmodum nunc, instabit, et negotium promovebit: scilicet risissem, sed fidem prorsus non adhibuissem. Quare, illustrissime comes, cum talia miracula edideris in fortunâ publicâ, etiam in fortunâ amici et servi tui privatâ eniteat virtus tua. Miraculum enim potentiæ et fidei proles est. Tu potentiam habes; ego fide abundo, si modo digna sit res, ad quam dominatio tua illustrissima manum salutarem porrigat. Id tempus optimè demonstrabit.

Cum nuper ad dominationem tuam illustrissimam scripserim, eo brevior fio. Hoc tantum a te peto, ut etiam inter negotia, quæ feliciter administras, consuetam digneris Dom. Matthæo libertatem proponendi et consulendi apud te ea, quæ in rem meam fore videbimus.

Deus illustrissimam tuam dominationem servet incolumem, ut enixè optat, &c.

To the Earl of Bristol, Ambassador in Spain.

My very good Lord,

Though I have written to your lordship lately, yet I could not omit to put a letter into so good a hand as Mr. Matthew's, being one that hath often made known unto me how much I am beholden to your lordship; and knoweth likewise in what estimation I have ever had your lordship, not according to your fortunes, but according to your inward value. Therefore, not to hold your lordship in this time of so great business, and where I have so good a mean as Mr. Matthew, who, if there be any thing that concerns my fortune, can better express it than myself, I humbly commend myself, and my service to your lordship, resting, &c.

To Sir Francis Cottington, Secretary to the Prince.

Good Mr. Secretary,

Though I think I have cloyed you with letters, yet had I written a thousand before, I must add one more by the hands of Mr. Matthew, being as true a friend as any you or I have; and one, that made me so happy, as to have the assurance of our friendship; which, if there be any stirring for my good, I pray practise in so good a conjunction as his. I ever rest, &c.

To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

Good Mr. Matthew,

Because Mr. Clarke is the first that hath been sent since your departure, who gave me also the comfortable news, that he met you well, I could not but visit you with my letters, who have so often visited me with your kind conferences.

My health, I thank God, is better than when you left me; and, to my thinking, better than before my last sickness. This is all I need to write of myself to such a friend.

We hope well, and it is generally rather spoken than believed, that his highness will return very speedily. But they be not the best pieces in painting that are dashed out in haste. I hope, if any thing want in the speed of time, it will be compensed in the fruit of time, that all may sort to the best.

I have written a few words, of duty and respect only, to my Lord Marquis, and Mr. Secretary. I pray you kiss the Count of Gondomar's hand.

God keep you.

Your most affectionate and assured Friend,

May 2, 1623. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

I write now only to congratulate with your grace your new honour;* which because I reckon to be no great matter to your fortune (though you are the first English duke that hath been created since I was born) my compliment shall be the shorter. So having turned almost my hopes of your grace's return, by July, into wishes, and not

* The title of Duke, conferred on him May 18, 1623.

to them neither, if it should be any hazard to your health, I rest, &c.

Vouchsafe, of your nobleness, to present my most humble duty to his highness. Summer is a thirsty time; and sure I am, I shall infinitely thirst to see his highness's and your grace's return.

Duke of Buckingham to the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My good Lord,

I have received your hearty congratulation for the great honour, and gracious favour, which his majesty hath done me: and I do well believe, that no man is more glad of it than yourself.

Tobie Matthew is here; but what with the journey, and what with the affliction he endures, to find, as he says, that reason prevails nothing with these people, he is grown extreme lean, and looks as sharp as an eyas.* Only he comforts himself with a conceit, that he is now gotten on the other side of the water, where the same reason, that is valuable in other parts of the world, is of no validity here; but rather something else, which yet he hath not found out.

I have let his highness see the good expressions of your lordship's care, and faithful affection to his person; and shall ever be ready to do you, in all things, the best service that I can.

So wishing your lordship much happiness, I rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend
and humble Servant,
G. BUCKINGHAM.

Madrid,
this 29th of May, 1623, *st. vet.*

To the Duke of Buckingham, in Spain†.

Excellent Lord,

I humbly thank your grace for your letter of the 29th of May; and that your grace doth believe, that no man is gladder of the increase of your honour and fortune, than I am; as, on the other part, no man should be more sorry, if it should in the least degree decline, nor more careful, if it should so much as labour. But of the first, I speak as of a thing that is: but for the two latter, it is but a case put,

* A young hawk, just taken out of the nest.

† The Duke of Buckingham went to Spain, February, 1623, and returned in September.

which I hope I shall never see. And, to be plain with your grace, I am not a little comforted to observe, that, although in common sense and experience, a man would have doubted, that some things might have sorted to your prejudice; yet in particulars we find nothing of it. For a man might reasonably have feared, that absence and discontinuance might have lessened his majesty's favour: no such thing has followed. So likewise, that any, that might not wish you well, should have been bolder with you. But all is continued in good compass. Again, who might not have feared, that your grace being there to manage, in great part, the most important business of Europe, so far from the king, and not strengthened with advice there, except that of the prince himself, and thus to deal with so politic a state as Spain, you should be able to go through as you do? and yet nothing, as we hear, but for your honour, and that you do your part. Surely, my lord, though your virtues be great, yet these things could not be, but that the blessing of God, which is over the king and the prince, doth likewise descend upon you as a faithful servant; and you are the more to be thankful to God for it.

I humbly thank your grace, that you make me live in his highness's remembrance, whom I shall ever bear a heart to honour and serve. And I much joy to hear of the great and fair reputation which at all hands are given him.

For Mr. Matthew, I hope by this time he hath gathered up his crumbs; which importeth much, I assure your grace, if his cure must be, either by finding better reason on that side the line, or by discovering what is the motion, that moveth the wheels, that, if reason do not, we must all pray for his being in good point. But in truth, my Lord, I am glad he is there; for I know his virtues, and particularly his devotion to your lordship.

God return his highness, and your grace, unto us safe and sound, and according to your hearts' desires.

To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

Good Mr. Matthew,

I have received your letter of the 10th of June,* and am exceeding glad to hear you are in so good health. For that which may concern myself, I neither doubt of your judgment in choosing the fittest time, nor of your affection in taking the first time you shall find fit. For the public

* N. S.

business, I will not turn my hopes into wishes yet, since you write as you do; and I am very glad you are there, and, as I guess, you went in good time to his lordship.

For your action of the case, it will fall to the ground; for I have not heard from the duke, neither by letter, nor message, at this time.

Good keep you. I rest always

Your most affectionate and faithful Servant,

Grey's Inn, 17th of June, 1623. FR. ST. ALBAN.

I do hear, from Sir Robert Ker and others, how much beholden I am to you.

To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

Good Mr. Matthew,

I thank you for your letter of the 26th of June, and commend myself unto your friendship, knowing your word is good assurance, and thinking I cannot wish myself a better wish, than that your power may grow to your will.

Since you say the prince hath not forgot his commandment, touching my history of Henry VIII. I may not forget my duty. But I find Sir Robert Cotton, who poured forth what he had, in my other work, somewhat dainty of his materials in this.

It is true, my labours are now most set to have those works, which I had formerly published, as that of *Advancement of Learning*, that of *Henry VII.* that of the *Essays*, being retractate, and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not. For these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupts with books: and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with posterity.

For the essay of friendship, while I took your speech of it for a cursory request, I took my promise for a compliment. But since you call for it, I shall perform it.*

I am much beholden to Mr. Gage for many expressions of his love to me; and his company, in itself very acceptable, is the more pleasing to me, because it retaineth the memory of yourself.

This letter of yours, of the 26th, lay not so long by you, but it hath been as speedily answered by me, so as with Sir Francis Cottington I have had no speech since the re-

* Among his *Essays*, published in 4to, and dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham, is one upon *Friendship*.

ceipt of it. Your former letters, which I received from Mr. Griesley, I had answered before, and put my letter into a good hand.

For the great business, God conduct it well. Mine own fortune hath taught me expectation.

God keep you.

Indorsed—*To Mr. Matthew, into Spain.*

To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

Good Mr. Matthew,

I have received your letter, sent by my Lord of Andover; and, as I acknowledged your care, so I cannot fit it with any thing, that I can think on for myself; for since Gondomar, who was my voluntary friend, is in no credit, neither with the prince, nor with the duke, I do not see what may be done for me there; except that which Gondomar hath lost you have found; and then I am sure my case is amended: so, as with a great deal of confidence, I commend myself to you, hoping, that you will do what in you lieth, to prepare the prince and duke to think of me, upon their return. And if you have any relation to the infanta, I doubt not but it shall be also to my use.

God keep you.

Your most affectionate and assured Friend, &c.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

Though I have formerly given your grace thanks for your last letter, yet being much refreshed to hear things go so well, whereby we hope to see you here shortly, your errand done, and the prince within the vail, I could not contain, but congratulate with your lordship, seeing good fortune, that is God's blessing, still follow you. I hope I have still place in your love and favour; which if I have, for other place, it shall not trouble me. I ever rest

Your Grace's most obliged and faithful Servant.

July 22, 1623.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

Upon Mr. Clarke's dispatch, in troth I was ill in health, as he might partly perceive. Therefore I wrote to my true friend, and your grace's devoted servant, Mr. Matthew, to excuse me to your grace for not writing. Since, I thank God, I am pretty well recovered; for I have lain at two

wards, one against my disease, the other against my physicians, who are strange creatures.

My lord, it rejoiceth me much, that I understand from Mr. Matthew, that I live in your grace's remembrance; and that I shall be the first man that you will think on upon your return: which, if your grace perform, I hope God Almighty, who hath hitherto extraordinarily blessed you in this rocky business, will bless you the more for my sake. For I have had extraordinary tokens of his divine favour towards me, both in sickness and in health, prosperity and adversity.

Vouchsafe to present my most humble duty to his highness, whose happy arrival will be a bright morning to all.

I ever rest

Your Grace's most obliged
and faithful Servant,

Grey's Inn, August 29, 1623. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

Good Mr. Matthew,

I have gotten a little health; I praise God for it. I have therefore now written to his grace, that I formerly, upon Mr. Clarke's dispatch, desired you to excuse me for not writing, and taken knowledge, that I have understood from you, that I live in his grace's remembrance; and that I shall be his first man that he will have care of upon his return. And although your absence be to me as uncomfortable to my mind, as God may make it helpful to my fortunes; yet it is somewhat supplied by the love, freedom, and often visitations of Mr. Gage; so, as when I have him, I think I want you not altogether. God keep you.

Your most affectionate
and much obliged Friend, &c.

Minutes of a Letter to the Duke of Buckingham.

That I am exceeding glad his grace is come home with so fair a reputation of a sound protestant, and so constant for the king's honour a errand.

His grace is now to consider, that his reputation will vanish like a dream, except now, upon his return, he do some remarkable act to fix it, and bind it in.

They have a good wise proverb in the country whence he cometh, taken I think from a gentlewoman's sampler, *Qui en no da nudo, pierdo punto*, "he that tieth not a knot upon his thread, loseth his stitch."

Any particular, I that live in darkness, cannot propound. Let his grace, who seeth clear, make his choice: but let some such thing be done, and then this reputation will stick by him; and his grace may afterwards be at the better liberty to take and leave off the future occasions, that shall present.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I send, in all humbleness, to your majesty, the poor fruits of my leisure. This book* was the first thing that ever I presented to your majesty;† and it may be will be last. For I had thought it should have *posthuma proles*. But God hath otherwise disposed for a while. It is a translation, but almost inlarged to a new work. I had good helps for the language. I have been also mine own *index expurgatorius*, that it may be read in all places. For since my end of putting it into Latin was to have it read every where, it had been an absurd contradiction to free it in the language, and to pen it up in the matter. Your majesty will vouchsafe graciously to receive these poor sacrifices of him that shall ever desire to do you honour while he breathes, and fulfilleth the rest in prayers.

Your Majesty's true Beadsman
and most humble Servant, &c.

Todos duelos con pan son buenos: itaque det vestra Majestas obolum Bellisario.

To the Prince.

It may please your excellent Highness,

I send your highness, in all humbleness, my book of *Advancement of Learning*, translated into Latin, but so inlarged, as it may go for a new work. It is a book, I think, will live, and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not. For Henry the Eighth, to deal truly with your highness, I did so despair of my health this summer, as I was glad to choose some such work, as I might compass within days; so far was I from entering into a work of length. Your highness's return hath been my restora-

* *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, printed at London, 1623, in fol. The present to King James I. is in the royal library in the British Museum.

† *The two books of Sir Francis Bacon of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human*: printed at London, 1605, in 4to.

tive. When I shall wait upon your highness, I shall give you a farther account. So I most humbly kiss your highness's hands, resting

Your Highness's most devoted Servant.

I would (as I wrote to the duke in Spain) I could do your highness's journey any honour with my pen. It began like a fable of the poets; but it deserveth all in a piece a worthy narration.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

I desire in this, which I now presume to write to your grace, to be understood, that my bow carrieth not so high, as to aim to advise touching any of the great affairs now on foot, and so to pass it to his majesty through your hands; though it be true, that my good affection towards his majesty and the prince and the public is that which will last die in me; and though I think also his majesty would take it but well, if, having been that man I have been, my honest and loyal mind should sometimes feed upon those thoughts. But my level is no farther, but to do the part of a true friend in advising yourself for your own greatness and safety; although, even in this also, I assure myself I perform a good duty to the public service, unto which I reckon your standing and power to be a firm and sound pillar of support.

First, therefore, my lord, call to mind oft, and consider duly, how infinitely your grace is bound to God in this one point, which I find to be a most rare piece, and wherein, either of ancient or late times, there are few examples; that is, that you are beloved so dearly, both by the king and the prince. You are not as a Lerma, or an Olivares, and many others the like, who have insinuated themselves into the favours of young princes, during the kings', their fathers, time, against the bent and inclination of the kings: but contrariwise, the king himself hath knit the knot of trust and favour between the prince and your grace, wherein you are not so much to take comfort in that you may seem to have two lives in your own greatness, as in this, that hereby you are enabled to be a noble instrument for the service, contentment, and heart's ease, both of father and son. For where there is so loving and indulgent a father, and so respective and obedient a son, and a faithful and worthy servant, interested in both their favours upon all

occasions, it cannot be but a comfortable house. This point your grace is principally to acknowledge and cherish.

Next, that, which I should have placed first, save that the laying open of God's benefits is a good preparation to religion and godliness, your grace is to maintain yourself firm and constant in the way you have begun; which is, in being and shewing yourself to be a true and sound protestant. This is your soul's health. This is that you owe to God above, for his singular favours: and this is that, which hath brought you into the good opinion and good will of the realm in general. So that, as your case differeth (as I said) from the case of other favourites, in that you have both king and prince; so in this, that you have also now the hearts of the best subjects (for I do not love the word people,) your case differeth from your own, as it stood before. And because I would have your reputation in this point complete, let me advise you, that the name of puritans in a papist's mouth do not make you to withdraw your favour from such as are honest and religious men; so that they be not so turbulent and factious spirits, or adverse to the government of the church, though they be traduced by that name. For of this kind is the greatest part of the body of the subjects; and besides, (which is not to be forgotten) it is safest for the king and his service, that such men have their dependance upon your grace, who are intirely the king's, rather than upon any other subject.

For the papists, it is not unknown to your grace, that you are not, at this time, much in their books. But be you like yourself; and far be it from you, under a king and prince of that clemency, to be inclined to rigour or persecution.

But three things must be looked unto: the first, that they be suppressed in any insolency, which may tend either to disquiet the civil estate, or scandalize our church in fact; for otherwise, all their dotrine doth it in opinion. The second, that there be an end, or limit, of those graces which shall be thought fit for them, and that there be not every day new demands hearkened to. The third, that for those cases and graces, which they have received, or shall receive of the state, the thanks go the right way; that is, to the king and prince, and not to any foreigner. For this is certain, that if they acknowledge them from the state, they may perhaps sit down when they are well. But if they have a dependance upon a foreigner, there will be no end of their growing desires and hopes. And in this point also, your lordship's wisdom and moderation may do much good.

For the match with Spain, it is too great and dark a business for me to judge of. But as it hath relation to concern yourself, I will, as in the rest, deal freely with your grace.

My lord, you owe, in this matter, two debts to the king: the one, that, if in your conscience and judgment you be persuaded it be dangerous and prejudicial to him and his kingdoms, you deliver your soul, and in the freedom of a faithful counsellor, joined with the humbleness of a dutiful servant, you declare yourself accordingly, and shew your reasons. The other, that if the king in his high judgment, or the prince in his settled affection, be resolved to have it go on; that then you move in their orb, as far as they shall lay it upon you. But mean while, let me tell your grace, that I am not of the general opinion abroad, that the match must break, or else my Lord of Buckingham's fortune must break. I am of another opinion; and yet perhaps it will be hard to make you believe it, because both sides will persuade you to the contrary. For they, that would not have it go on, will work upon that conceit, to make you oppose it more strongly. They that would have it go on, will do the same, to make you take up betimes, and come about. But I having good affiance in your grace's judgment, will tell you my reasons, why I thus think, and so leave it. If the match should go on, and put case against your counsel and opinion; doth any man think that so profound a king, and so well seen in the science of reigning, and so understanding a prince, will ever suffer the whole sway of affairs and greatness to go that way? And if not, who should be a fitter person to keep the balance even than your grace, whom the king and prince know to be so intirely their own, and have found so nobly independent upon any other? Surely my opinion is, you are likely to be greater by counterpoise against the Spanish dependance, than you will by concurrence. And therefore, in God's name, do your duty faithfully and wisely; for behaving yourself well otherwise, as I know you will, your fortune is like to be well either way.

For that excellent lady, whose fortune is so distant from her merits and virtue, the Queen of Bohemia, your grace being, as it were, the first-born, or prime man of the king's creatures, must in consequence owe the most to his children and generations; whereof I know your noble heart hath far greater sense than any man's words can infuse into you. And therefore whatsoever liveth within the compass of your duty, and of possibility, will no doubt spring from you out of that fountain.

It is open to every man's discourse, that there are but two ways for the restitution of the palatinate, treaty and arms. It is good therefore to consider of the middle acts, which may make either of these ways desperate, to the end they may be avoided in that way which shall be chosen. If no match, either this with Spain, or perhaps some other with Austria, no restitution by treaty. If the Dutch, either be ruined, or grow to a peace of themselves with Spain, no restitution by war.

But these things your grace understandeth far better than myself. And, as I said before, the points of state I aim not at farther, than they may concern your grace, to whom, while I live, and shall find it acceptable to you, I shall ever be ready to give the tribute of a true friend and servant, and shall always think my counsels given you happy, if you shall pardon them when they are free; and follow them when they are good.

God preserve and prosper you.

To the Duke of Buckingham.*

Excellent Lord,

There is a suit, whereunto I may, as it were, claim kindred, and which may be of credit and profit unto me; and it is an old arrear which is called upon, from Sir Nicolas Bacon, my eldest brother. It may be worth to me perhaps two thousand pounds; and yet I may deal kindly with my brother, and also reward liberally (as I mean to do) the officers of the Exchequer, which have brought it to light. Good my lord obtain it of the king, and be earnest in it for me. It will acquit the king somewhat of his promise, that he would have care of my wants; for hitherto, since my misfortunes, I have tasted of his majesty's mercy, but not of his bounty. But your lordship may be pleased in this, to clear the coast with my Lord Treasurer; else there it will have a stop. I am almost at last cast for means; and yet it grieveth me most, that at such a time as this, I should not be rather serviceable to your grace, than troublesome.

God preserve and prosper your grace.

Your Grace's most obliged
and faithful Servant,

This 23d of January, 1623. Fr. St. Alban.

* The duke's answer to this letter, dated at Newmarket, the 28th of January, 1623, is printed in Lord Bacon's works.

To the Earl of Oxford.*

My very good Lord,

Let me be an humble suitor to your lordship, for your noble favour. I would be glad to receive my writ this parliament,† that I may not die in dishonour; but by no means, except it should be with the love and consent of my lords to re-admit me, if their lordships vouchsafe to think me worthy of their company; or if they think that which I have suffered now these three years, in loss of place, in loss of means, and in loss of liberty for a great time, to be a sufficient expiation for my faults, whereby I may now seem in their eyes to be a fit subject of their grace, as I have been before of their justice. My good lord, the good, which the commonwealth might reap of my suffering, is already inned. Justice is done; an example is made for reformation; the authority of the house for judicature is established. There can be no farther use of my misery; perhaps some little may be of my service; for, I hope, I shall be found a man humbled as a Christian, though not dejected as a worldling. I have great opinion of your lordship's power, and great hope, for many reasons, of your favour; which, if I may obtain, I can say no more, but nobleness is ever requited in itself; and God, whose special favour in my afflictions I have manifestly found to my comfort, will, I trust, be my pay-master of that which cannot be requited by

Your Lordship's affectionate humble Servant, &c.

Indorsed—*February* 2, 1623.

To Sir Francis Barnham.‡

Good Cousin,

Upon a little searching, made touching the patents of the survey of coals, I find matter not only to acquit myself, but likewise to do myself much right.

Any reference to me, or any certificate of mine, I find not. Neither is it very likely I made any; for that, when it came to the great seal, I stayed it. I did not only stay it, but brought it before the council-table, as not willing to pass it, except their lordships allowed it. The lords gave

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* Henry Vere, who died in 1625. He was Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

† That met February 19, 1623, and was prorogued May 29, 1624.

‡ He appears to be a relation of his lordship's lady, who was daughter of Benedict Barnham, Esq. alderman of the city of London. Sir Francis was appointed, by his lordship, one of the executors of his last will.

hearing to the business, I remember, two several days; and in the end disallowed it, and commended my care and circumspection, and ordered, that it should continue stayed; and so it did all my time.

About a twelvemonth since, my Lord Duke of Lenox, now deceased,* wrote to me to have the privy seal; which, though I respected his lordship much, I refused to deliver to him, but was content to put it into the right hand; that is, to send it to my Lord Keeper,† giving knowledge how it had been stayed. My Lord Keeper received it by mine own servant, writeth back to me, acknowledging the receipt, and adding, that he would lay it aside until his lordship heard farther from my Lord Steward,‡ and the rest of the lords. Whether this first privy seal went to the great seal, or that it went about again, I know not: but all my part is, that I have related. I ever rest

Your faithful Friend and Cousin,

March 14, 1623. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord,

I am now full three years old in misery; neither hath there been any thing done for me, whereby I might either die out of ignominy, or live out of want. But now, that your grace (God's name be praised for it) hath recovered your health, and are come to the court, and the parliament business hath also intermission, I firmly hope your grace will deal with his majesty, that as I have tasted of his mercy, I may also taste of his bounty. Your grace, I know, for a business of a private man, cannot win yourself more honour; and I hope I shall yet live to do you service. For my fortune hath (I thank God) made no alteration in my mind, but to the better. I ever rest humbly

Your Grace's most obliged
and faithful Servant,
FR. ST. ALBAN.

If I may know by two or three words from your grace, that you will set in for me, I will propound somewhat that shall be modest, and leave it to your grace, whether you will move his majesty yourself, or recommend it by some of your lordship's friends, that wish me well; [as my Lord of Arundel, or Secretary Conway, or Mr. James Maxwell.] §

* He died suddenly, February 12, 1623-4.
† See his letter to Lord St. Alban, of February 7, 1622.
‡ James, Marquis of Hamilton, who died March, 2, 1624-5.
§ The words included in brackets have a line drawn after them.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

I understand by Sir John Suckling, that he attended yesterday at Greenwich, hoping, according to your grace's appointment, to have found you there, and to have received your grace's pleasure touching my suit, but missed of you: and this day he sitteth upon the subsidy at Brentford, and shall not be at court this week: which causeth me to use these few lines to hear from your grace, I hope, to my comfort; humbly praying pardon, if I number thus the days, and that misery should exceed modesty. I ever rest

Your Grace's most faithful
and obliged Servant,

June 30, 1624. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Chancellor,

This way, by Mr. Myn, besides a number of little difficulties it hath, amounteth to this, that I shall pay interest for mine own money. Besides, I must confess, I cannot bow my mind to be a suitor, much less a shifter, for that means, which I enjoy by his majesty's grace and bounty. And therefore I am rather ashamed of that I have done, than minded to go forward. So that I leave it to yourself what you think fit to be done in your honour and my case, resting

Your very loving Friend,

London,
this 7th of July, 1624. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

Now that your grace hath the king private, and at better leisure, the noise of soldiers, ambassadors, parliaments, a little ceasing, I hope you will remember your servant; for at so good a time,* and after so long a time, to forget him, were almost to forsake him. But, howsoever, I shall still remain

Your Grace's most obliged and faithful Servant,
FR. ST. ALBAN.

I am bold to put into my good friend, Sir Tobie Matthew's hand, a copy of my petition, which your grace had sent to Sir John Suckling.

Indorsed—*August*, 1624.

* This seems to refer to the anniversary thanksgiving-day for the king's delivery from the Gowry conspiracy, on the 5th of August, 1600.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

I am infinitely bound to your grace for your late favours. I send your grace a copy of your letter, signifying his majesty's pleasure, and of the petition. The course, I take it, must be, to make a warrant for the execution of the same, by way of reference to Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Attorney.* I most humbly pray your grace likewise, to prostrate me at his majesty's feet, with most humble thanks for the grant of my petition, whose sweet presence since I discontinued, methinks I am neither amongst the living, nor amongst the dead.

I cannot but likewise gratulate his majesty on the extreme prosperous success of his business, since this time twelvemonth. I know I speak it in a dangerous time; because the die of the Low Countries is upon the throw. But yet that is all one. For if it should be a blow (which I hope in God it shall not) yet it would have been ten times worse, if former courses had not been taken. But this is the raving of an hot ague.

God evermore bless his majesty's person and designs, and likewise make your grace a spectacle of prosperity, as you have hitherto been.

Your Grace's most faithful
and obliged, and by you revived Servant,

Grey's Inn, 9th of October, 1624. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Chancellor of the Duchy,† Sir Humphrey May.

Good Mr. Chancellor,

I do approve very well your forbearance to move my suits, in regard the duke's return‡ is so near at hand, which I thought would have been a longer matter; and I imagine there is a *gratiastitium* till he come. I do not doubt but you shall find his grace nobly disposed. The last time that you spake with him about me, I remember you sent me word, he thanked you for being so forward for me. Yet I could wish that you took some occasion to speak with him, generally to my advantage, before you move to him any particular suit; and to let me know how you find him.

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* Sir Thomas Coventry.

† This letter is indorsed, 1625.

‡ From Paris, whither the Duke of Buckingham went in May, 1625, to conduct the new queen to England.

My Lord Treasurer sent me a good answer touching my monies. I pray you continue to quicken him, that the king may once clear with me. A fire of old wood needeth no blowing; but old men do. I ever rest

Yours to do you service.

To Sir Robert Pye.

Good Sir Robert Pye,

Let me intreat you to dispatch that warrant of a petty sum, that it may help to bear my charge of coming up* to London. The duke, you know, loveth me, and my Lord Treasurer† standeth now towards me in very good affection and respect.‡ You, that are the third person in these businesses, I assure myself, will not be wanting; for you have professed and shewed, ever since I lost the seal, your good will towards me. I rest

Your affectionate and assured Friend, &c.

Indorsed—*To Sir Robert Pye. Gor.* 1625.

To the Earl of Dorset.§

My very good Lord,

This gentleman, the bearer hereof, Mr. Colles by name, is my neighbour. He is commended for a civil young man. I think he wanteth no metal, but he is peaceable. It was his hap to fall out with Mr. Matthew Francis, serjeant at arms, about a toy; the one affirming, that a hare was fair killed, and the other foul. Words multiplied, and some blows passed on either side. But since the first falling out, the serjeant hath used towards him divers threats and affronts, and, which is a point of danger, sent to him a letter of challenge: but Mr. Colles, doubting the contents of the letter, refused to receive it. Motions have been made also of reconcilement, or of reference to some gentlemen of the country not partial: but the serjeant hath refused all, and now, at last, sueth him in the Earl Marshal's court. The gentleman saith, he distrusteth not his cause upon the

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* From Gorhambury.

† Sir James Lord Ley, advanced from the post of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, on the 20th of December, 1624, to that of Lord Treasurer; and created Earl of Marlborough on the 5th of February, 1625-6.

‡ His lordship had not been always in that disposition towards the Lord Viscount St. Alban; for the latter has, among the letters printed in his works, one to this Lord Treasurer, severely expostulating with him about his unkindness and injustice.

§ Sir Edward Sackville succeeded to that title on the death of his brother Richard, March 28, 1624.

hearing; but would be glad to avoid restraint, or long and chargeable attendance. Let me therefore pray your good lordship to move the noble earl* in that kind, to carry a favourable hand towards him, such as may stand with justice and the order of that court. I ever rest

Your Lordship's faithful Friend and Servant.

Indorsed—*To E. Dorset. Gor.* 1625.

Sir Thomas Coventry, Attorney General, to the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

My very good Lord,

I received from your lordship two letters, the one of the 23d, the other of the 28th of this month. To the former, I do assure your lordship I have not heard any thing of any suits or motion, either touching the reversion of your honours or the rent of your farm of petty writs; and, if I had heard any thing thereof, I would not have been unmindful of that caveat, which heretofore you gave in by former letters, nor slack to do you the best service I might.

The debt of Sir Nicolas Bacon resteth as it did; for in the latter end of King James's time, it exhibited a *quo warranto* in the Exchequer, touching that liberty, against St. Nicolas, which abated by his death; then another against Sir Edmund, which by the demise of the king, and by reason of the adjournment of the late term, hath had no farther proceeding, but that day is given to plead.

Concerning your other letter, I humbly thank your lordship for your favourable and good wishes to me; though I, knowing my own unaptness to so great an employment,† should be most heartily glad, if his majesty had, or yet would choose, a man of more merit. But, if otherwise, humbleness and submission becomes the servant, and to stand in that station where his majesty will have him. But as for the request you make for your servant, though I protest I am not yet engaged by promise to any, because I hold it too much boldness towards my master, and discourtesy towards my Lord Keeper,‡ to dispose of places, while he had the seal: yet in respect I have some servants, and some of my kindred, apt for the place you write of, and

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* Arundel, Earl Marshal.

† Bishop Williams, who had resigned the great seal, on the 25th of October, 1625, to Sir John Suckling, who brought his majesty's warrant to receive it, dated at Salisbury on the 23d of that month.

‡ That of the great seal, of which Sir Thomas Coventry was three days after made Lord Keeper, on the 1st of November, 1625.

have been already so much importuned by noble persons, when I lately was with his majesty at Salisbury, as it will be hard for me to give them all denial; I am not able to discern, how I can accommodate your servant; though for your sake, and in respect of the former knowledge myself have had of the merit and worth of the gentleman, I should be most ready and willing to perform your desire, if it were in my power. And so, with remembrance of my service to your lordship, I remain

At your Lordship's commandment,

Kingsbury, Oct. 29, 1625. THO. COVENTRY.

To the Right Honourable, and my very good Lord, the Viscount St. Alban.

To Mr. Roger Palmer.

Good Mr. Roger Palmer,

I thank God, by means of the sweet air of the country, I have obtained some degree of health. Sending to the court, I thought I would salute you: and I would be glad, in this solitary time and place, to hear a little from you how the world goeth, according to your friendly manner heretofore.

Fare ye well most heartily.

Your very affectionate and assured Friend,

Gorhambury, Oct. 29, 1625. FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

Excellent Lord,

I could not but signify unto your grace my rejoicing, that God hath sent your grace a son and heir,* and that you are fortunate as well in your house, as in the state of the kingdom. These blessings come from God, as I do not doubt but your grace doth, with all thankfulness, acknowledge, vowing to him your service. Myself, I praise his divine Majesty, have gotten some step into health. My wants are great; but yet I want not a desire to do your grace service; and I marvel, that your grace should think to pull down the monarchy of Spain without my good help. Your grace will give me leave to be merry, however the world goeth with me. I ever rest

Your Grace's most faithful and obliged Servant, &c.

I wish your grace a good new year.

* Born November 17, 1625, and named Charles.—*Diary of the Life of Archbishop Laud*, published by Mr. Wharton, p. 24. This son of the duke died the 16th of March, 1626-7. *Ibid.* p. 40.

To Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Good Mr. Chancellor,

I did wonder what was become of you, and was very glad to hear you were come to court; which, methinks, as the times go, should miss you as well as I.

I send you another letter, which I wrote to you of an old date, to avoid repetition; and I continue my request then to you, to sound the Duke of Buckingham's good affection towards me, before you do move him in the particular petition. Only the present occasion doth invite me to desire, that his grace would procure me a pardon of the king of the whole sentence. My writ for parliament I have now had twice before the time, and that without any express restraint not to use it. It is true, that I shall not be able, in respect of my health, to attend in parliament; but yet I might make a proxy. Time hath turned envy to pity; and I have a long cleansing week of five years expectation and more. Sir John Bennet hath his pardon; and my Lord of Somerset hath his pardon, and, they say, shall sit in parliament. My Lord of Suffolk cometh to parliament, though not to council. I hope I deserve not to be the only outcast.

God keep you. I ever rest

Your most affectionate Friend,

to do you service.

I wish you a good new year.

Indorsed—*To the Chancellor of the Duchy. Gor.* 1625.

To the Marquis d'Effiat, the French Ambassador.

Mons. l'Ambassadeur, mon fils,

Vous scavez que le commencement est la moitié du fait. Voyla pourquoy je vous ay escrit ce petit mot de lettre, vous priant de vous souvenir de vostre noble promesse de me mettre en la bonne grâce de nostre très-excellente reyne, et m'en faire recevoir quelque gracieuse demonstration. Vostre excellence prendra aussi, s'il vous plaist, quelque occasion de prescher un peu, à mon advantage en l'oreille du Duc de Buckingham en général. Dieu vous ayt en sa saincte garde.

Vostre très-affectionné et très-humble serviteur,

Jan. 18, 1625. Fr. St. Alban.

The following Letters, wanting both dates and circumstances to determine such dates, are placed here together.

To King James I.

May it please your Majesty,

Thinking often, as I ought, of your majesty's virtue and fortune, I do observe, not without admiration, that those civil acts of sovereignty, which are of the greatest merit, and therefore of truest glory, are, by the providence of God, manifestly put into your hands, as a chosen vessel to receive from God, and an excellent instrument to work amongst men the best and noblest things. The highest degree of sovereign honour is to be founder of a kingdom or estate; for, as in the acts of God, the creation is more than the conservation; and as among men the birthday is accounted the chiefest of the days of life; so, to found a kingdom is more worthy than to augment, or to administer the same. And this is an honour that no man can take from your majesty, that the day of your coming to the crown of England was as the birthday of the kingdom intire Britain.

The next degree of sovereign honour, is the plantation of a country or territory, and the reduction of a nation, from waste soil and barbarous manners, to a civil population. And in this kind also your majesty hath made a fair and prosperous beginning in your realm of Ireland. The third eminent act of sovereignty is to be a lawgiver, whereof he speaketh,

> Pace datâ terris, animum ad civilia vertit
> Jura suum, legesque tulit justissimus author.

And another saith, "Ecquid est, quod tam proprièdici potest actum ejus, qui togatus in republicâ cum potestate imperioque versatur, quam lex. Quære acta Gracchi; leges Sempronie proferentur: quære Syllæ, Corneliæ quid? Cnei Pompeii tertius consulatus in quibus actis consistit? Nempe legibus. A Cæsare ipso si quæreres quidnam egisset in urbe et toga; leges multas se respondeat et præclaras tulisse."

To the King.

It may please your Majesty,

A full heart is like a full pen; it can hardly make any distinguished work. The more I look upon my own weakness, the more I must magnify your favours; and the more I behold your favours, the more I must consider mine own weakness. This is my hope, that God, who hath moved

your heart to favour me, will write your service in my heart. Two things I may promise; for, though they be not mine own, yet they are surer than mine own, because they are God's gifts; that is integrity and industry. And, therefore, whensoever I shall make my account to you, I shall do it in these words, *ecce tibi lucrifeci*, and not *ecce mihi lucrifeci*. And for industry, I shall take to me, in this procuration, not Martha's part, to be busied in many things, but Mary's part, which is to intend your service; for the less my abilities are, the more they ought to be contracted *ad unum*. For the present, I humbly pray your majesty to accept my most humble thanks and vows as the forerunners of your service, which I shall always perform with a faithful heart.

Your Majesty's most obedient Servant,

FR. BACON.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I hear yesterday was a day of very great honour to his majesty, which I do congratulate. I hope, also, his majesty may reap honour out of my adversity, as he hath done strength out of my posperity. His majesty knows best his own ways; and for me to despair of him, were a sin not to be forgiven. I thank God, I have overcome the bitterness of this cup by Christian resolution, so that worldly matters are but mint and cu̇min.

God ever preserve you.

Indorsed—*To my Lord Buckingham, after my troubles.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

I thought it my duty to take knowledge to his majesty, from your lordship, by the inclosed, that, much to my comfort, I understand his majesty doth not forget me nor forsake me, but hath a gracious inclination to me, and taketh care of me; and to thank his majesty for the same. I perceive, by some speech, that passed between your lordship and Mr. Meautys, that some wretched detractor hath told you, that it were strange I should be in debt; for that I could not but have received an hundred thousand pounds gifts since I had the seal; which is an abominable falsehood. Such tales as these made St. James say, that the *tongue is a fire*, and *itself fired from hell*, whither when these tongues shall return, they will *beg a drop of water to*

cool them. I praise God for it, I never took penny for any benefice or ecclesiastical living; I never took penny for releasing any thing I stopped at the seal; I never took penny for any commission, or things of that nature; I never shared with any servant for any second or inferior profit. My offences I have myself recorded, wherein I studied, as a good confessant, guiltiness, and not excuse; and therefore I hope it leaves me fair to the king's grace, and will turn many men's hearts to me.

As for my debts, I shewed them your lordship, when you saw the little house and the farm, besides a little wood or desert, which you saw not.

If these things were not true, although the joys of the penitent be sometimes more than the joys of the innocent, I could not be as I am.

God bless you, and reward you for your constant love to me. I rest, &c.

Draught of a Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, not sent.*

My Lord,

I say to myself, that your lordship hath forsaken me; and I think I am one of the last, that findeth it, and in nothing more, than that twice at London your lordship would not vouchsafe to see me, though the latter time I begged it of you. If your lordship lack any justification about York House, good my lord, think of it better; for I assure your lordship, that motion to me was to me as a second sentence; for I conceived it sentenced me to the loss of that, which I thought was saved from the former sentence, which is your love and favour. But sure it could not be that pelting matter, but the being out of sight, out of use, and the ill offices done me, perhaps, by such as have your ear. Thus I think, and thus I speak; for I am far enough from any baseness or detracting, but shall ever love and honour you, howsoever I be

Your forsaken Friend and freed Servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

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* Among Lord Bacon's printed letters, is one without a date, in which he complains, as in this, that he, *being twice now in London*, the marquis *did not vouchsafe to see him.*

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

It is in vain to cure the accidents of a disease, except the cause be found and removed. I know adversity is apprehensive; but I fear it is too true, that now I have lost honour, power, profit, and liberty, I have, in the end, lost that which to me was more dear than all the rest, which is my friend. A change there is apparent and great; and nothing is more sure, than that nothing hath proceeded from and since my troubles, either towards your lordship or towards the world, which hath made me unworthy of your undeserved favours or undesired promises. Good my lord, deal so nobly with me, as to let me know whether I stand upright in your favour, that either I may enjoy my wonted comfort, or see my griefs together, that I may the better order them; though, if your lordship should never think more of me, yet your former favours should bind me to be

Your Lordship's most obliged and faithful Servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

My very good Lord,

This extreme winter hath turned, with me, a weakness of body into a state that I cannot call health, but rather sickness, and that more dangerous than felt, as whereby I am not likely to be able to wait upon your lordship, as I desired, your lordship being the person of whom I promise myself more almost than of any other; and, again, to whom, in all loving affection, I desire no less to approve myself a true friend and servant. My desire to your lordship is to admit this gentleman, my kinsman and approved friend, to explain to you my business, whereby to save further length of letter, or the trouble of your lordship's writing back.

To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

Good Mr. Matthew,

The event of the business, whereof you write, is, it may be, for the best: for seeing my lord, of himself, beginneth to come about, *quorsum* as yet? I could not in my heart suffer my Lord Digby to go hence without my thanks and acknowledgments. I send my letter open, which I pray seal and deliver. Particulars I would not touch.

Your most affectionate and assured Friend,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

To Mr. Tobie Matthew.

Good Mr. Matthew,

When you write by pieces, it sheweth your continual care; for a flush of memory is not so much; and I shall be always, on my part, ready to watch for you, as you for me.

I will not fail, when I write to the lord marquis, to thank his lordship for the message, and to name the nuntius. And, to tell you plainly, this care they speak of, concerning my estate, was more than I looked for at this time; and it is that which pleaseth me best. For my desires reach but to a fat *otium*. That is truth; and so would I have all men think, except the greatest; for I know patents, *absque aliquid inde reddendo*, are not so easily granted.

I pray my service to the Spanish ambassador, and present him my humble thanks for his favour. I am much his servant; and ashes may be good for somewhat. I ever rest

Your most affectionate and assured Friend,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

I have sought for your little book, and cannot find it. I had it one day with me in my coach. But sure it is safe; for I seldom lose books or papers.

To the Lord Viscount St. Alban.

Most honoured Lord,

I have received your great and noble token and favour of the 9th of April, and can but return the humblest of my thanks for your lordship's vouchsafing so to visit this poorest and unworthiest of your servants. It doth me good at heart, that, although I be not where I was in place, yet I am in the fortune of your lordship's favour, if I may call that fortune, which I observe to be so unchangeable. I pray hard that it may once come in my power to serve you for it; and who can tell but that, as *fortis imaginatio generat casum*, so strange desires may do as much? Sure I am, that mine are ever waiting on your lordship; and wishing as much happiness as is due to your incomparable virtue, I humbly do your lordship reverence.

Your Lordship's most obliged and humble Servant,

TOBIE MATTHEW.

P. S. The most prodigious wit that ever I knew of my nation, and of this side of the sea, is of your lordship's name, though he be known by another.

To the Lord Archbishop of York*.

My very good Lord,

I must use a better style than mine own in saying, *Amor tuus undequaque se ostendit ex literis tuis proximis*, for which I give your grace many thanks, and so, with more confidence, continue my suit to your lordship for a lease absolute for twenty-one years of the house, being the number of years which my father and my predecessors fulfilled in it. A good fine requires certainty of term; and I am well assured, that the charge I have expended in reparations, amounting to one thousand marks at least already, is more than hath been laid out by the tenants that have been in it since my remembrance, answerable to my particular circumstance, that I was born there, and am like to end my days there. Neither can I hold my hand, but, upon this encouragement, am like to be doing still, which tendeth to the improvement, in great measure, of the inheritance of your see by superlapidations, if I may so call it, instead of dilapidations, wherewith otherwise it might be charged.

And whereas a state for life is a certainty, and not so well seen how it wears, a term of years makes me more depending upon you and your succession.

For the providing of your lordship and your successors a house, it is part of the former covenant, wherein I desired not to be released.

So, assuring myself of your grant and perfecting of this my suit, and assuring your grace of my earnest desire and continual readiness to deserve well of you, and yours chiefly, and likewise of the see in any the causes or preeminences thereof, I commend your grace to God's goodness, resting, &c.

The following Letter is from the Original in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, and should have been inserted at page 287.

To the King.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

We have, with all possible care and diligence, considered Cotton's† cause, the former and the latter, touching the

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* Dr. Tobie Matthew.

† The case of this gentleman will render the detail of it necessary for the illustration of this letter; and the circumstances of it, not known in our history, may be thought to deserve the reader's attention. He was a native of the west of England, and a recusant, against whom a proclamation was issued in June, 1613, charging him with high treason against the king and state for having published a very scandalous and railing book against his majesty, under the title

book and the letter in the gilt apple, and have advisedly perused and weighed all the examinations and collections, which were formerly taken; wherein we might attribute a good deal of worthy industry and watchful inquiry to my Lord of Canterbury. We thought fit also to take some new examinations; which was the cause we certified no sooner. Upon the whole matter, we find the cause of his imprisonment just, and the suspicions and presumptions many and great; which we little need to mention, because your majesty did relate and enforce them to us in better perfection than we can express them. But, nevertheless, the proofs seem to us to amount to this, that it was possible he should be the man; and that it was probable likewise he was the man; but no convicting proofs that may satisfy

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of *Balaam's Ass*, which was dropped in the gallery at Whitehall. Just at the time of publishing this proclamation, he happened to cross the Thames, and inquiring of the watermen, what news? they, not knowing him, told him of the proclamation. At landing, he muffled himself up in his cloak, to avoid being known, but had not gone many paces, when one Mr. Maine, a friend of his, meeting and discovering him, warned him of his danger; and being asked what he would advise him to do? recommended it to him to surrender himself, which he did to the Earl of Southampton. He denied himself to be the author of the libel; but his study being searched, among his papers were found many parts of the book, together with relics of those persons who had been executed for the gunpowder treason, as one of Sir Everard Digby's fingers, a toe of Thomas Percy, some other part of Catesby or Rookewood, and a piece of one of Peter Lambert's ribs. He was kept prisoner in the Tower till March 1618-9, when the true author of the libel was discovered to be John Williams, a lawyer. The discovery was owing to this accident: a pursuivant, in want of money, and desirous to get some by his employment, waited at the Spanish ambassador's door, to see if he could light upon any prey. At last came out Mr. Williams, unknown to the pursuivant, but carrying, in his conceit, the countenance of a priest. The pursuivant, therefore, followed him to his inn, where Williams having mounted his horse, the pursuivant came to him, and told him, that he must speak a word or two with him. "Marry, with all my heart," said Williams: "what is your pleasure?"—"*You must light*," answered the pursuivant, "*for you are a priest.*" "A priest!" replied Williams, "I have a good warrant to the contrary; for I have a wife and children." Being, however, obliged to dismount, the pursuivant searched him, and in his pocket was found a bundle of papers, sealed up, which the pursuivant going to open, Williams made some resistance, pretending they were evidences of a gentleman whose law businesses he transacted. The pursuivant insisting upon opening the papers, among them was found *Balaam's Ass*, with new annotations; of which, upon examination, *Williams* confessed himself to be the author. He was brought to the trial, and condemned at the King's Bench at Westminster, the 3d of May, 1619, and executed at Charing Cross, on the 5th.—*MS. Letters of Mr. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart. dated at London, June the 24th and 30th, 1613, and March the 16th, 1618-9. and May the 4th and 5th, 1619, among the Harleian MSS.* vol. 7002. See likewise *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi*, p. 43, 44. It is but justice to the memory of our great antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, Bart. to remark here a mistake of Dr. Thomas Smith in his Life of Sir Robert, p. 26, prefixed to his Catalogue of the Cottonian Library, where he has confounded the Cotton mentioned in the beginning of this note, with Sir Robert Cotton, and erroneously supposed, that the suspicion of having written the libel had fallen upon the latter.

a jury of life and death, or that may make us take it upon our conscience, or to think it agreeable to your majesty's honour (which, next our conscience to God, is the dearest thing to us on earth) to bring it upon the stage; which notwithstanding we, in all humbleness, submit to your majesty's better judgment. For his liberty, and the manner of his delivery (he having so many notes of a dangerous man) we leave it to your princely wisdom. And so, commending your majesty to God's precious custody, we rest

Your Majesty's most humble and bounden Servants,

FR. BACON.
H. MONTAGU.
H. YELVERTON.

January 22, 1613.

LETTERS FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

To Lady Burghley, to speak for him to her Lord.*

My singular good Lady,

I was as ready to shew myself mindful of my duty, by waiting on your ladyship, at your being in town, as now by writing, had I not feared lest your ladyship's short stay, and quick return might well spare me, that came of no earnest errand. I am not yet greatly perfect in ceremonies of court, whereof, I know, your ladyship knoweth both the right use, and true value. My thankful and serviceable mind shall be always like itself, howsoever it vary from the common disguising. Your ladyship is wise, and of good nature to discern from what mind every action proceedeth, and to esteem of it accordingly. This is all the message which my letter hath at this time to deliver, unless it please your ladyship further to give me leave to make this request unto you, that it would please your good ladyship, in your letters, wherewith you visit my good lord, to vouchsafe the mention and recommendation of my suit; wherein your ladyship shall bind me more unto you than I can look ever to be able sufficiently to acknowledge. Thus, in humble

* Lansd. MS. xxxi. art. 14.

manner, I take my leave of your ladyship, committing you, as daily in my prayers, so, likewise, at this present, to the merciful providence of the Almighty.

Your Ladyship's most dutiful and bounden Nephew,

B. FRA.

From Grey's Inn,
this 16th September, 1580.

To Lord Burghley, to recommend him to the Queen.*

My singular good Lord,

My humble duty remembered, and my humble thanks presented for your lordship's favour and countenance, which it pleased your lordship, at my being with you, to vouchsafe me, above my degree and desert. My letter hath no further errand but to commend unto your lordship the remembrance of my suit, which then I moved unto you; whereof it also pleased your lordship to give me good hearing, so far forth as to promise to tender it unto her majesty, and withal to add, in the behalf of it, that which I may better deliver by letter than by speech; which is, that although it must be confessed that the request is rare and unaccustomed, yet if it be observed how few there be which fall in with the study of the common laws, either being well left or friended, or at their own free election, or forsaking likely success in other studies of more delight, and no less preferment, or setting hand thereunto early, without waste of years; upon such survey made, it may be my case may not seem ordinary, no more than my suit, and so more beseeming unto it. As I force myself to say this in excuse of my motion, lest it should appear unto your lordship altogether indiscreet and unadvised, so my hope to obtain it resteth only upon your lordship's good affection toward me, and grace with her majesty, who, methinks, needeth never to call for the experience of the thing, where she hath so great and so good of the person which recommendeth it. According to which trust of mine, if it may please your lordship both herein and elsewhere to be my patron, and to make account of me, as one in whose well-doing your lordship hath interest, albeit, indeed, your lordship hath had place to benefit many, and wisdom to make due choice of lighting places for your goodness, yet do I not fear any of your lordship's former experiences for staying my thankfulness borne in heart, howsoever God's good pleasure shall enable me or disable me, outwardly, to make

* Lansd. MS. xxxi. art. 14.

proof thereof; for I cannot account your lordship's service distinct from that which I to God and my prince; the performance whereof to best proof and purpose is the meeting point and rendezvous of all my thoughts. Thus I take my leave of your lordship, in humble manner, committing you, as daily in my prayers, so, likewise, at this present, to the merciful protection of the Almighty.

Your most dutiful and bounden Nephew,

B. FRA.

From Grey's Inn,
this 16th of September, 1580.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer.*

My very good Lord,

I take it as an undoubted sign of your lordship's favour unto me that, being hardly informed of me, you took occasion rather of good advice than of evil opinion thereby. And if your lordship had grounded only upon the said information of theirs, I might and would truly have upholden that few of the matters were justly objected; as the very circumstances do induce, in that they were delivered by men that did misaffect me, and, besides, were to give colour to their own doings. But because your lordship did mingle therewith both a late motion of mine own, and somewhat which you had otherwise heard, I know it to be my duty (and so do I stand affected) rather to prove your lordship's admonition effectual in my doings hereafter, than causeless by excusing what is past. And yet (with your lordship's pardon humbly asked) it may please you to remember, that I did endeavour to set forth that said motion in such sort as it might breed no harder effect than a denial. And I protest simply before God, that I sought therein an ease in coming within bars, and not any extraordinary or singular note of favour. And for that your lordship may otherwise have heard of me, it shall make me more wary and circumspect in carriage of myself; indeed I find in my simple observation, that they which live as it were in *umbra* and not in public or frequent action, how moderately and modestly soever they behave themselves, yet *laborant invidia;* I find also that such persons as are of nature bashful (as myself is), whereby they want that plausible familiarity which others have, are often mistaken for proud. But once I know well, and I most humbly beseech your lordship to believe, that arrogancy and overweening

* Lansd. MS. li. art. 5. Orig.

is so far from my nature, as if I think well of myself in any thing it is in this, that I am free from that vice. And I hope upon this your lordship's speech, I have entered into those considerations, as my behaviour shall no more deliver me for other than I am. And so, wishing unto your lordship all honour, and to myself continuance of your good opinion, with mind and means to deserve it, I humbly take my leave.

Grey's Inn, this 6th of May, 1586.

Your Lordship's most bounden Nephew,
FR. BACON.

To Sir Robert Cecil, Knight.*

Sir,

I thank your honour very much for the signification which I received by Mr. Hickes, of your good opinion, good affection, and readiness; and as to the impediment which you mention, and I did forecast, I know you bear that honourable disposition, as it will rather give you apprehension to deal more effectually for me than otherwise, not only because the trial of friends is in case of difficulty, but again, for that without this circumstance your honour should be only esteemed a true friend and kinsman, whereas now you shall be further judged a most honourable counsellor; for pardons are each honourable because they come from mercy, but most honourable towards such offenders. My desire is, your honour should break with my lord, your father, as soon as may stand with your convenience, which was the cause why now I did write. And so I wish your honour all happiness.

Your Honour's in faithful affection to be commanded,

From Grey's Inn, this 16th of April, 1593.

FR. BACON.

To Mr. Michael Hickes, Secretary to the Lord High Treasurer.†

Mr. Hickes, still I hold opinion that a good solicitor is as good as a good counsellor, I pray as you have begun so continue to put Sir Robert Cecil in mind. I write now because I understand, by occasion of Mr. Solicitor's ordering at the court, things are like to be deliberated, if not resolved. I pray learn what you can, both by your

* Lansd. MS. lxxv. art. 36. Orig. † Lansd. MS. lxxv. art. 56. Orig.

nearness to my lord, and by speech with Sir Robert, and write what you find. Thus in haste I wish you right well.

Your Friend assured,

FR. BACON.

From Gorhambury, this 26th of September, 1593.

I pray send me word what is your day of payment, and whether you can be certain to renew, because my brother's land is not yet sold.

To the Lord High Treasurer.*

After the remembrance of my humble and bounden duty, it may please your good lordship, the last term I drew myself to my house in the country, expecting that the queen would have placed another solicitor, and so I confess a little to help digestion, and to be out of eye, I absented myself, for I understood her majesty not only to continue in her delay, but (as I was advertised chiefly by my Lord of Essex) to be retrograde (to use the term applied to the highest powers); since which time, I have, as in mine own conceit given over the suit, though I leave it to her majesty's tenderness, and the constancy of my honourable friends, so it be without pressing.

And now my writing to your lordship is chiefly to give you thanks. For surely, if a man consider the travail and not the event, a man is often more bounden to his honourable friends for a suit denied than for a suit succeeding. Herewithal I am bold to make unto your lordship three requests, which ought to be very reasonable because they come so many at once. But I cannot call that reasonable which is only grounded upon favour. The first is, that your lordship would yet *tueri opus tuum* and give as much life unto this present suit for the solicitor's place, as may be without offending the queen (for that were not good for me). The next is, that if I did shew myself too credulous to idle hearsays, in regard of my right honourable kinsman and good friend Sir Robert Cecil (whose good nature did well answer my honest liberty), your lordship will impute it to the complexion of a suitor, and of a tired sea-sick suitor, and not to mine own inclination; lastly, that howsoever this matter go, yet I may enjoy your lordship's good favour and help, as I have done in regard of my private estate, which as I have not altogether neglected, so I have but negligently

* Lansd. MS. lxxviii. art. 31. Orig.

attended, and which hath been bettered only by yourself (the queen except), and not by any other in matter of importance. This last request I find it more necessary for me to make, because (though I am glad of her majesty's favour, that I may with more ease practise the law, which percase I may use now and then for my countenance,) yet to speak plainly, though perhaps vainly, I do not think that the ordinary practice of the law, not serving the queen in place, will be admitted for a good account of the poor talent that God hath given me, so as I make reckoning, I shall reap no great benefit to myself in that course. Thus again desiring the continuance of your lordship's goodness as I have hitherto found, and on my part sought also to deserve, I commend your good lordship to God's good preservation.

From Grey's Inn, this 21st of March, 1594. Your Lordship's most humbly bounden, FR. BACON.

To Mr. Henry Maynard, and Mr. Michael Hickes.*

Mr. Maynard and Mr. Hickes, I build somewhat upon the conceit I have of your good wills, which maketh me direct my request to you in so pressing an occasion as is fallen unto me, by the strange slipping, and uncertain overcunning dealing of a man in the city, who having concluded a bargain with me for certain marsh lands, now in mortgage for a thousand pounds, and standing to be redeemed the 24th of this present, which is but twelve days hence, and being to give me sixteen hundred and odd pounds for the sale, doth now upon a point, as clear as any case in Littleton, and wherein Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Brograve, Mr. Heskett, Mr. Gerard, Mr. Altham, and all that I can speak with make no manner of doubt, quarrel upon the assurance, and so in this time of difficulty for money pensions, and in so instant a quantity of time as twelve days, plunge me to seek my redemption money, or to forfeit my land to seven hundred pounds less and more. This maketh me desire the help of two so good friends as I esteem yourselves to be, the rather because the collateral pawn which I would offer, which is the assurance of my lease of Twickenham, being a thing which will pass with easy and short assurance, and is every way clear and unsubject to incumbrance (because it is my pleasure and my dwelling), I would not offer but to a private friend; upon which assurance my desire is,

* Lansd. MS. lxxx. art. 71. Orig.

that upon your joint means or credit, I might be furnished at my day, and if either of you like the bargain of my marsh lands, you shall have their refusal, and I shall think you true and timely friends. So in great haste, I bid you both farewell.

Your Friend, loving and assured,

From my chamber,
this 12th of March, 1595. FR. BACON.

To Lord Burghley.*

It may please your good Lordship,

I am sorry the joint mask from the four inns of court faileth, wherein I conceive there is no other ground of that event but impossibility. Nevertheless, because it falleth out that at this time Grey's Inn is well furnished of gallant young gentlemen, your lordship may be pleased to know that rather than this occasion shall pass without some demonstration of affection from the inns of court; there are a dozen gentlemen of Grey's Inn, that out of the honour which they bear to your lordship and my Lord Chamberlain, to whom at their last mask they were so much bounden, will be ready to furnish a mask, wishing it were in their powers to perform it according to their minds. And so for the present I humbly take my leave, resting

Your Lordship's very humble and much bounden,
FR. BACON.

To Mr. Michael Hickes.†

Sir,

The queen hath done somewhat for me, though not in the proportion I hoped; but the order is given, only the monies will not in any part come to my hand this fortnight; the later by reason of Mr. Attorney's absence, busied to ‡ the queen, and I am like to borrow the mean while. Thus hoping to take hold of your invitation some day this borrowing, I rest

Your assured Friend,
FR. BACON.

To the Earl of Salisbury.§

My Lord,

No man can better expound my doings than your lordship, which maketh me need to say the less; only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to conscience and commendation, first of *bonus civis*, which with us is a good and true servant to the queen, and next of *bonus vir*, that is an

* Lansd. MS. cvii. art. 8. Orig.
† Lansd. MS. cvii. art. 9. Orig.
‡ Difficult to decypher, q. intercede?
§ Lansd. MS. lxxxvii. art. 79. Orig.

honest man. I desire your lordship also to think that though I confess I love some things much better than I love your lordship, as the queen's service, her quiet and contentment, her honour, her favour, the good of my country, and the like, yet I love few persons better than yourself, both for gratitude's sake, and for your own trueness, which cannot hurt but by accident or abuse, of which my good affection, I was ever and am ready to yield testimony by any good offers, but with such reservations as yourself cannot but allow; for as I was ever sorry that your lordship should fly with waxen wings, doubting Icarus's fortune, so for the growing up of your own feathers, specially ostrich's, or any other save of a bird of prey, no man shall be more glad; and this is the axletree whereupon I have turned, and shall turn, which to signify to you, though I think you are of yourself persuaded as much, is the cause of my writing; and so commend I your lordship to God's goodness.

Your Lordship's most humbly,

From Grey's Inn, this 20th of July, 1600.

FR. BACON.

To Mr. Michael Hickes.*

Mr. Hickes,

I thank you for your letter, testifying your kind care of my fortune, which when it mendeth, your thanks will likewise amend. In particular you write you would be in town as on Monday, which is passed, and that you would make proof of Mr. Billett, or some other friend for my supply, whereof I see you are the more sensible, because you concur in approving my purpose and resolution, of first freeing my credit from suits and speech, and so my estate by degrees, which in very truth was the cause which made me *sub impudens* in moving you for new help, when I should have helped you with your former money. I am desirous to know what success you have had since your coming to town, in your kind care. I have thought of two sureties for one hundred pounds a piece: the one Mr. Fra. Anger, of Grey's Inn, he that was the old Count of Lincoln's executor, a man very honest and very able, with whom I have spoken, and he hath promised; the other Sir Thomas Hobby, whom I have not spoken with, but do presume of, though I never used him in that kind. So leaving it to your good will, I rest

Your assured loving Friend,

1600. FR. BACON.

* Lansd. MS. lxxxvii. art. 86. Orig.

To Mr. M. Hickes.*

Mr. Hickes, your remain shall be with you this term, but I have now a further request, which, if you perform, I shall think you one of the best friends I have, and yet the matter is not much to you, but the timing of it is much to me; for I am now about this term to free myself from all debts, which are any ways in suit or urged, following a faster pace to free my credit than my means can follow to free my state, which yet cannot stay long after; I having resolved to spare no means I have in hand (taking other possibilities for advantage) to clear myself from the discontent, speech, or danger of others. And some of my debts of most clamour and importunity I have this term, and some few days before, ordered, and in fact paid. I pray you to your former favours, which I do still remember, and may hereafter requite, help me out with two hundred pounds more for six months; I will put you in good sureties, and you shall do me a great deal of honesty and reputation; I have written to you the very truth and secret of my course, which to few others I would have done, thinking it may move you. And so with my loving commendations, I rest

Your assured loving Friend,

Jan. 21, 1600. FR. BACON.

To Sir Robert Cotton.

Sir,

Finding, during parliament, a willingness in you to confer with me in this great service concerning the union, I do now take hold thereof to excuse my boldness to desire that now which you offered then, for both the time as to leisure is more liberal, and as to the service itself is more urgent. Whether it will like you to come to me to Gray's Inn, or to appoint me where to meet with you, I am indifferent, and leave it to your choice, and accordingly desire to hear from you; so I remain your very loving friend,

Gray's Inn, this 8th of Sept. 1604. F. BACON.

To Sir M. Hickes.†

Sir,

For your travel with all disadvantages, I will put it upon my account to travel twice so far, upon any occasion of yours; but your wits seemed not travelled, but fresh, by

* Lansd. MS. lxxxviii. art. 3. Orig. † Lansd. MS. lxxxix. art. 78. Orig.

your letter, which is to me an infallible argument of heart's-ease which doth so well with you, as I must intreat you to help me to some of the same. And therefore I will adjourn our conference to your return to the Strand, on Monday, where I will find you, if it chance right. And this day would I have come to your Friary,* but that I am commanded to attend the indictments at Westminster. And so I leave to perceive your good disposition.

I remain your's assured,

Jan. 17, 1605. FR. BACON.

To Sir Michael Hickes.†

Sir,

I pray try the concension I spoke to you of out of hand. For it is a mind I shall not continue in, if it pass this very tide. So I rest

Yours,

October, 1606. FR. BACON.

To Sir Michael Hickes.‡

Sir,

There is a commission, touching the king's service, to be executed at your house, on Tuesday next; the commissioners are Mr. Recorder of London, Sir John Bennett, Sir Thomas Bodley, and myself. There are blanks left for other names, such as you in your wisdom shall think fit to fill. Mr. Horden is wished, for the better countenance of the service, and Sir Thomas Lowe is spoken of, but these and others are wholly left unto you. It will take up a whole afternoon, and therefore no remedy but we must dine with you; but for that you are not so little in grace with Mr. Chancellor but you may have allowance, the Exchequer being first full; hereof I thought most necessary to give you notice. So I remain

Your assured Guest and Friend,

This Sunday at Afternoon, August 6, 1609. FR. BACON.

To Sir Robert Cotton.§

Sir,

You may think the occasion was great and present, that made me defer a thing I took much to heart so long; I have in the blank leaf supplied some clauses, which, warranted by your kind respect and liberty, I wish were inserted for my father's honour, as a son I confess; but yet no farther than I have the two great champions, both truth

* Augustine Friars.

† Lansd. MS. lxxxix. art. 105. Orig.

‡ Lansd. MS. xci. art. 40. Orig.

§ Cotton MS. Julius, c. iii. fol. 71. b. Orig.

and opinion, of my side. They be but three places, and that you may readily find them, I have turned down leaves; desiring you to reform the Latin or the sense by your better style and conceit, which done, if it please you (being but three pages) to have them written again, and so incorporate them into the copy you carry to the king, you shall content me much, who I think am no unfit man to give you some contribution or retribution to your worthy intention. So in haste I remain

Your assured Friend,

Grey's Inn,
this 7th of April, 1610. FR. BACON.

To Sir Michael Hickes.*

Sir Michael Hickes,

It is but a wish, and not any ways to desire it to your trouble, but I heartily wish I had your company here at my mother's funeral, which I purpose on Thursday next, in the forenoon. I dare promise you a good sermon, to be made by Mr. Fenton, the preacher of Gray's Inn: for he never maketh other feast; I make none: but if I might have your company for two or three days at my house, I should pass over this mournful occasion with more comfort. If your son had continued at St. Julian's it might have been an adamant to have drawn you; but now, if you come, I must say it is only for my sake. I commend myself to my lady, and commend my wife to you both. And rest

Yours ever assured,

This Monday,
27th of August, 1610. FR. BACON.

To Sir Michael Hickes.†

Sir Michael,

I do use as you know to pay my debts with time; but indeed if you will have a good and perfect colour in a carnation stocking, it must be long in the dying: I have some scruple of conscience whether it was my lady's stockings or her daughter's, and I would have the restitution to be to the right person, else I shall not have absolution. Therefore I have sent to them both, desiring them to wear them for my sake, as I did wear theirs for mine own sake. So wishing you all a good new year, I rest

Yours assured,

Gray's Inn,
this 8th of Jan. 1611. FR. BACON.

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* Lansd. MS. xci. art. 94. Orig. † Lansd. MS. xcii. art. 31. Orig.

To his very loving Friend, Mr. John Murray, of his Majesty's Bed Chamber. Deliver these.*

Good Mr. Murray,

I have laboured like a pack horse in your business, and, as I think, have driven in a nail. I pray deliver the inclosed to his majesty, wherein I have made mention of the same. I rest

Yours assured,

27th January, 1611. FR. BACON.

From the University of Cambridge to the Right Honourable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney General, and one of his Honourable Privy Council, these.†

Right Honourable,

The special love and favour which your honour by word and writing hath ever professed to learning and this University, makes us fly to your protection in a present danger, where we fear the chief nerves and foundation of all our jurisdiction, and gracious charters, are (under a pretence of dignity and honour to this University) either intended to be shaken, or wholly overthrown. We doubt not but your honour hath heard of a late petition preferred to his majesty by the mayor and others of Cambridge (as they pretend), to dignify the University in making the town a city; which, upon so fair a gloss, his majesty (out of his gracious favour to this University) hath referred to the order of the Lord Chancellor of England, their high steward; the Lord Treasurer, our honourable and our most loving chancellor, and your honour. By this project (though dignity and honour to us be the first colour they cast upon their suit, yet by the cunning carriage of the business, and secret workings of friends) we cannot but fear this shadow will be overcast with matter of such substance for them and their purpose, that it will either draw our former grants into question, or us to great inconvenience. Neither is this suspicion without a cause; first for that, about six years past, the like petition was preferred and followed by them; at what time by a secret view of their book, we perceived our best charters nearly touched: secondly, upon our earnest request to have a copy of such matters as they desire, they slight us, saying, "That were but to part the lion's

* Harl. MS. 6986. art. 114. † Sloan MS. 3562. art. 40.

skin;" thirdly, by experience we find the danger of trusting their kindness, for upon our late sufferance of their last charter to pass (without good advice of our council), they both incroach upon our ancient grants, and inforce that charter not only against our privileges and customs, but the special proviso and reservation therein made for our former liberties. These peremptory answers and dealings of theirs, upon so kind and friendly usage and requests of ours, make us fear the sequel; for that as yet we could never find by any record, act, or wish of theirs, that this University ever received honour, dignity, or favour; in regard whereof we earnestly intreat your honour to stand with our worthy chancellor and us in staying this suit, until we be truly informed how the town may receive grace and the University no dishonour. So with our hearty thanks to your honour, for all your former favours shewed us and this University, and with our daily prayers to the Almighty for your long life and happiness, we take our leave.

This 9th of December, 1616. Your Honour's in all duty.

To the Right Worshipful the Vice-chancellor and others, the Masters, and the Heads of the Houses of the University of Cambridge.*

After my very hearty commendations, I have received your letter of the 9th of this present December, and have taken care of you rather according to your request, than at your request; forasmuch as I had done it before your letter came. This you may perceive by the joint letter which you shall receive from my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Treasurer, and myself. And for me you may rest assured, that nothing can concern you little, or more nearly, or afar off, but you shall have all care out of my affection, and all strength and help out of my means and power to conserve and advance your good estate and contentment. And so I remain

Your very affectionate and assured Friend,

December 28, 1616. FR. BACON.

From the University of Cambridge.†

Right Honourable,

The confidence which the townsmen have, in obtaining their charter and petition, makes us bold and importunate suitors to your honour, by whose favour with his majesty

* Sloan MS. No. 3562. art. 25. † Sloan MS. 3562. art. 41.

and protection, we again humbly intreat the University and ourselves may be freed from that danger which by them is intended to us. By their own reports, it is a matter of honour and advantage for which they sue: when they were at the lowest, and in their meanest fortunes, they ever shewed themselves unkind neighbours to us; and their suits with us, within these few years have caused us to spend our common treasury, and trouble our best friends, and therefore we cannot expect peace amongst them, when their thoughts and wills shall be winged and strengthened by that power and authority which the very bare title of a city will give unto them. Since our late letter to the right honourable Lord Chancellor, your honour, and his majesty's Attorney General, we (being better informed of the course they take, and of their confidence to prevail at the end of the next term) have sent letters from the body of the University to the King's majesty, the Lord Chancellor, and others, our honourable friends; shewing them of our fear, and their purpose, and to entreat them to join with your honour and us, to his majesty, to stay their suit before we be driven to further charge or trouble, in entertaining counsel, or soliciting our friends. Thus humbly entreating your honour to pardon our importunity, and often soliciting your lordship in this business, with our earnest prayers to the Almighty for your honour's long life and happy estate, we end this. Your Honour's in all duty

February, 1616. to be commanded.

Honoratissimo Domino Francisco Domino de Verulamio, Equiti Aurato summo Angliæ Cancellario, Regiæque Majestrati Consiliario dignissimo.*

Honoratissime Domine,

Herculem olim Antiquitas ceu Musagetem coluit, quia mutuis operibus, ac prœmiis jurari invicem ornarique deberent, et virtus Herculis voce Musarum, et Musarum quies defensione Herculis. Expecta est sæpiusculè nostra etiam sororia, et favoris tui æmula Academia te suum Herculem; quo nec præsentius aliquid, nec studiis mage propitium numen est. Teque adeo alumnorum suorum fautorem, te ultorem injuariarum, te cognitorem juris sui, te dignitatis juxta, ac libertatis suæ assertorem non jucundâ minus quàm gratâ subinde animi recordatione veneratur. Perge (illustrissime Mæcenas) perge usque sic beare, sic nobilitare Musas, Musisque dicata hospitia, et Emporia; ut sub tua

* Sloan. MS. 35 2. art. 80.

lauro deponant fessum latus, et sub ala, nutuque tuo vitam ac sanguinem recipiant. Ut portus in mari Deus statuit, jactatis refugium; sic vos magnos Patronos, quibus in turbida fortuna recreemur.

Quod rovemus, et (quæ suggerit nobis sive importunior spes seu fiducia promptior) pristinam illam tuam omnem variis, nec obscuris indiciis exertam in nos benignitatem, tanquam novi hujus, et succedanei (quod impræsentiarum petimus) benificii tesseram aliquam, et quasi stipulationem accipimus. Imminet jam nostræ Mantuæ incursionis periculum a vicinâ, et contigui liminis cremonâ: quæ sub ementitæ dignitatis larva, ac prætextu, veræ, ac veteri dignitati nostræ insidiatur: nec vanus nobis subest suspitionis metus, ne dum surgant civitatis hujus mœnia, mox Academiæ Barietes injurioso (sed occulto) pede conculcentur. Esto quidem per nos (imo sit per vos) Cantabrigia civitas florentissima (cur enim honorem tunc ipsi nobis invideamus?) sit tamen (ita uti nomen ei olim in archivis cluet) civitas literarum, non illiberalium opificum: qui dum majores nido pennas extundunt, et civitatis (quam ambiunt), et universitatis (cui invident) dignitatem eunt delibatum. Honorem nobis obtendunt, et auctiorem Oxonioque rivalem splendoris cumulum? Officiæ meræ, et hamatum lenocinium. Blandiens rentus nos non inducet, quin tempestatem, et nimbum expectemus. Ut aves semel deceptæ, cæteros etiam cibos viscatos credunt: sic ab impostură ut ut speciosâ, quod etiam bonum, syncerumque videtur, esse id tamen omne dilutum, atque incrustatum, haud perperam suspicamur. Nos macti titulis illis, ac municipiis, quos Principum Diplomata, et domina rerum consuetudo longâ amorum serie firmatos nobis indulserunt in propria pelle quiescimus, haud ignari, noxios interdum, curiosos sæpe, semper suspectos esse Novatores, qui ut aliquid sui videantur afferre, etiam recta mutant in deterius. Tu verò Amplissime Heros (quæ summa sua erit, cum summâ prudentiâ, et equitate conjuncta humanitas) privilegiorum nostrorum Paladium sartum tectum conservabis; decernes nihil, quod Athenis nostris, vel in jacturam cedat vel molestiam, nec committes, ut qui per emensum omne vitæ spacium clarè se ostendit, vel in extremo ætatis Curriculo claudatur honorificus ille tuus Erga togatam gentem affectus. Quod superest Deum optimum Maximum calidâ votorum nuncupatione veneramur ut te Ecclesiæ Patriæ, Academiæ bono coclitis natam divinare in terris velit,

* Addit. MS. Mus. Brit. No. 5503. fol. 98.

jubeat, et cui Nestoreum pectus, annos etiam concedat Nestoreos, usque et usque ad novissimam senectutis lineam, imo ad famæ, et æternitatis metam fælicibus auspiciis decurrentes. Parum est enim optare tantæ virtuti, tantæque pietati quem longissimum habet humana vita progressum.

Dat e Senatu frequenti nostro tertio Idus, Februarii, 1616.

Honori tuo omni cultu, et obsequio Devinctissimi.

Procancellarius reliquusque cæterus Academiæ Cantabrigiensis.

A letter to my Lord of Buckingham, touching Mompesson's business of Inns.*

My very good Lord,

We are left a little naked in the business of Inns, by the death of Justice Nicholls; and my Lord Chief Baron and Mr. Justice Crooke having been with me, do desire the number of three may be fulfilled. I have therefore sent your lordship a warrant for the king's signature, wherein Justice Winch is put in Justice Nicholls's place. It is also altered at my request, in that other point of the former warrant, whereby the certificate was required in writing, which they desire may be by attending his majesty themselves, at his coming, which I do think to be the more convenient and the more usual for judges. I ever rest

Your Lordship's true and most

October 18, 1616. devoted Servant.

To my Lord of Buckingham, touching Mompesson's Business, the Maltsters, &c.†

My very good Lord,

I am much troubled in mind, for that I hear you are not perfectly well, without whose health I cannot joy, and without whose life, I desire not to be. I hear nothing from Mr. Mompesson, save that some tell me he is knighted, which I am glad of, because he may the better fight with the bull and the bear, and the Saracen's head, and such fearful creatures.

For Sir Robert Killigrewe's suit of enrollment of apprentices, I doubt we must part it; but yet I suppose it may be left valuable.

Your office is dispatched, and your books in effect. I

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* Addit. MS. Mus. Brit. No. 5503. fol. 98. † Ibid.

have given his majesty an account of those things wherein I have received his pleasure from your lordship by this letter which I send open.

Good, my lord, once again have care of your health; and learn what Cardanus saith, that more men die of cold after exercise, than are slain in the wars. God ever keep you.

Your Lordship's true and much devoted Servant.

Nov. 21, 1616.

A Letter from his Majesty to your Lordship, touching the Business of the Mint*.

Right trusty and right beloved Counsellor, we greet you well.

Before your letters came to us, we had been informed of the pains and diligence you had shewed in our service, which we take very graciously at your hands, and thank you for it, desiring you still to continue in the course whereinto you have made so good an entrance, and have taken the right way of examining the business. And, whereas, you give your opinion of the Mint, we have thought fit to remember unto you the usual form which we have ever used in matters of consequence, that when you have taken the laborious part upon you in examination of the business, we first here report of the whole proceeding, before we give our resolution thereupon. And, therefore, until we hear the report of it in particular, we cannot conclude with you. As for the point of the stay of commerce, we agree with you in opinion thus far, that you call three or four of the aldermen whom you shall think fittest, and assure them, in our name, that we see no likelihood or reason of raising our coin, for ought we have yet heard, but rather of the contrary; and that the raising of the value of the coin will be the last course we shall take, when we see no other means left; for which we yet see no cause, and, therefore, the stop of money is needless. As for the committee, we think it fit that they should continue to meet, until we have brought the business to such ripeness, that by the report thereof, at our return, we may perfectly understand every particular.

Given at our Court at Newmarket,
this 4th of December, 1618.

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* Addit. MS. 5503. fol. 96.

A Letter to my Lord Buckingham.*

My very good Lord,

Your lordship's former letter was honourable, but this your latter letter was both honourable and comfortable; for which I yield your lordship humble thanks. And for my liberty, as your lordship hath, in your letter, vouchsafed to shew a great deal of tenderness concerning the same, so you will be nobly pleased to take some opportune time to move it; the rather, for that the season cometh on now fit for physic, which at this time of the year I have ever used; and my health never so much required. I ever humbly rest

Your Lordship's most obliged Friend
and faithful Servant.

5th March, 1621.

To my very loving Friends the Mayor, &c. of Cambridge†.

Whereas I am given to understand that there are some differences lately risen between the now mayor and aldermen, and other the members of that corporation, touching the election of the mayor next to succeed; wherein all parties have, according to charter, appealed to me as their high steward: forasmuch as I have but even newly recovered some degree of health, after a sharp sickness of some weeks, I am constrained to put off the hearing till Monday the 20th of this instant, at my lodging at Gray's Inn, &c.

Your very loving friend,

From Gray's Inn,
this 8th September, 1624.

FR. ST. ALBAN.

A Letter from Mr. Francis Bacon to the Lord President of York, in favour of Mr. Johns, for the Secretary's Place at York.‡

It may please your good Lordship,

I have been moved to recommend a person and suit to your lordship, which I assure myself, if it may take place with you, I shall not lose credit with you by; for both I know perfectly the honesty and sufficiency of the man, and that which is the next point, I am so well acquainted with his dutiful affection to your lordship, as I dare undertake no servant of yours shall be more observantly and faithfully

* Addit. MS. 5503. fol. 105. l. † MS. Cole, Mus. Brit. vol. xx. fol. 229.
‡ MS. Lansd. Mus. Brit. vol. ccxxxviii. fol. 126.

at your commandment. It is conceived in court, that Mr. Secretary Herbert shall have conferred upon him the place of secretary there, whose good will, by that which we do already find, Mr. Edward Jones hath reason to hope well of for a deputation. There rest two points, the one her majesty's good allowance, and the other yours. The former whereof I hope he shall have good means to procure, and the second is that which I am to sue to your lordship for. Wherein to move you, besides the fitness of the man hardly to be matched in any other particular, I will undertake for his thankfulness in as good a manner as any other can be whatsoever; and all the poor credit myself have with you, which I have not been unmindful to cherish, I desire may appear in this suit rather than in any motion for myself. And so with my humble signification of duty, I commend your lordship to God's goodness.

At your Lordship's honourable commandment,

FR. BACON.

A Letter to Mr. Matthew.*

Mr. Matthew,

I hope it may stand with your business to come hither down to me on Monday or Tuesday next. My Lord Digby I understand is in town, my Lord of Doncaster not hastily expected, the king far off. I pray you, if your business be not very important, let me see you one of those days. I do hear from you by Mr. Meautys that I am still much bound to my Lord Digby. I take it, I directed Mr. Meautys to tell you, that having somewhat better signs of my lord marquis's good disposition towards me, than when I wrote to my Lord Digby last, I would raise my request to his lordship, that, whereas I desired his lordship to move a temporary leave to come to London next Lent for my health, and Easter term for my business, he would now (if he so think it convenient) deal for a release of the confinement indefinite, for the same reasons of an infirm health; and the settling the poor planks of my wrecks will continue still. If my Lord Digby make haste to court, I pray do this before you come down to me; if not, you may defer it till we have spoken. God keep and prosper you.

15th February, 1621. Your most, &c.

* Addit. MS. Mus. Brit. 5503. fol. 103.

A Letter to my Lord Treasurer Lea.*

My Lord,

I humbly entreat your lordship, and (if I may use the word) advise your lordship to make me a better answer. Your lordship is interested in honour in the opinion of all that hear how I am dealt with. If your lordship malice me for Long's cause, surely it was one of the justest businesses that ever was in Chancery. I will avouch it; and how deeply I was tempted therein your lordship knoweth best. Your lordship may do well to think of your grave as I do of mine, and to beware of hardness of heart. And as for fair words, it is a wind by which neither your lordship nor any man else can sail long. Howsoever I am the man that shall give all due respects and reverence to your great place.

20th June, 1625. FR. ST. ALBAN.

LETTERS FROM THE LAMBETH LIBRARY.

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.†

Good my Lord,

Procure the warrant for my discharge this day. Death, I thank God, is so far from being unwelcome to me, as I have called for it (as Christian resolution would permit) any time these two months. But to die before the time of his majesty's grace, and in this disgraceful place, is even the worst that could be; and when I am dead, he is gone that was always in one tenor, a true and perfect servant to his master, and one that was never author of any immoderate, no, nor unsafe, no (I will say it), not unfortunate counsel; and one that no temptation could ever make other than a trusty, and honest, and Christ loving friend to your lordship; and howsoever I acknowledge the sentence just, and for reformation sake fit, the justest Chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time. God bless and prosper your lordship, whatsoever become of me.

Your Lordship's true Friend, living and dying,

Tower, 31st May, 1621. FR. ST. ALBAN.

Indorsed—*To the Marq. of Buckingham, from the Tower.*

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* Addit. MS. Mus. Brit. 5503. fol. 109 b.

† MS. Gibson, Lambeth Library. 936. fol. 147. Orig.

Edward Franklin to Lord St. Alban.*

Sir,

You falsify the common proverb: Out of sight out of mind. Distance of place makes no divorce of your love; but present or absent you baulk no opportunity for my good. I shall never deserve your love unless that which is mental may requite that which is real; and that good prayers may be balanced with good deeds.

Touching the present overture, (the errand of your letters) though there be a great conflict within myself, yet nor must nor will I hold you in long suspense. Though I could content myself with the obscure condition of my country fortune, yet should I not neglect and slight the fair opportunities of my better preferment. It is a sullen stoical humour, not to be drawn out of a dark retired corner into the warm and open sunshine. But I cannot resolve on the sudden: my present affairs being somewhat involved and perplexed. Respite me (I pray) but till the funeral; and then (God willing) I shall visit London, and give up my determinate and satisfactory answer. Meanwhile, I desire my thankful love may be tendered to that honest Mr. Hatcher. So I rest a devoted homager to your virtues: or (if you suspect a compliment)

Your assured Friend,

Cressingham,
April 30, 1625.

ED. FRANKLIN.

To the Marquis of Buckingham.†

My very good Lord,

Your lordship's former letter was honourable, this later is kind and loving; wherein I took much comfort. This I protest to God, who knoweth the secrets of hearts, that I do not think there was ever a son of Adam who wished more prosperity to another that was a subject than I have done and do to your lordship; and, as low as I am, I had rather sojourn in a college than recover a fortune by any other but yourself. Marry, to recover you (if I have not) or to cease you of doing any thing for me wherein you would not be seen, I would use any man.

God preserve and prosper your Grace. I rest.

Indorsed—*To Buckingham.*

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* MS. Gibson, Lambeth Lib. 936. fol. 210. Orig.
† Ibid. fol. 223. Orig.

T. Meautys to Lord St. Alban.*

My all honoured Lord,

Upon the first reading of your lordship's, received this day, I had almost put pen to paper to ask your pardon for having (as I supposed) too rudely broken open a letter intended to another, some more deserving friend or servant of yours (for, by the infinite disproportion between the noble favours therein expressed, and my disability any way to merit, I could not otherwise conjecture); but, upon second cogitations, remembering it to be incident to heroic natures and spirits to measure out and confer their graces and favours according to the latitude and dimensions of their own noble and capacious hearts, and not according to the narrower span and scantling of others' merits; and calling to mind that this is not the first time by many, that your lordship hath pointed me out as an instance hereof, by your singular and accumulate favours, I come now, instead of asking pardon for a supposed error of my own, to render unto your lordship all humble acknowledgment for a wilful, or rather, willing error of yours, in so overprizing the poor endeavours of your unprofitable servant.

Next, I take leave to say somewhat of what we say here, arising as well from abroad as at home; viz. that, upon later and more certain advertisement out of Germany, it is found the blow given to the imperialists was far greater, both for numbers, being at least 20,000, and for quality of the persons, than was first reported. Tilly himself being mortally wounded, and escaping to a town called Holverstat, some miles distant, was pursued by the King of Sweden, who, being advertised that he was dead, and that his body was newly taken thence, to be conveyed by a guard of 1500 horse to the Duke of Bavier's court, instantly went after them, and in a few hours overtook them, defeated the whole troops, and brought back the corpse to Holverstat, where it remains in the town house, a spectacle of the divine revenge and justice, for the bloody execution at Mackdeburgh. On Sunday, at Hampton Court, the States' ambassador here resident, at a solemn and public audience in the presence, sung us in effect an old song to a new tune, for his errand was only a formal relation of the passages of that achievement and defeat in the Low Countries (wherein, by the way, I heard not any mention at all of

* MS. Gibson, Lambeth Lib. 936, fol. 252.

my Lord Craven's prowess, though some say he expects a room in the next Gazette). The ambassador in magnifying of the victory, when he had said as we thought enough, concluded with that which was more than all he had said before; namely, in resembling it, both for the extent of the design, the greatness and expense in the preparation and manner of the deliverance, to that of the invasion in eighty-eight. At home we say, Mr. Attorney General is past hope of being Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, for he is assured of it; and, by the like reason, my Lord Richardson is past all fear of being removed to the King's Bench. The attorney's place is now in competition only between Noye and Banks, for Sir John Finch is out at all, and Banks is the likeliest to carry it. St. George was less beholden this year than ever, either to the lords of the order or to the other lords, there being only present those in the margin. So, praying your lordship to believe that I have more room in my heart than in my paper for my devotion and service to your lordship, my most honoured lord and lady, and all my noble ladies and especial friends, I rest

Your Lordship's to serve you,

October 11th. T. M.

Your commands to Mr. Maxwell I performed at Windsor on Monday was sevennight. Pardon this scribble for my candle winks upon me to hasten to an end, and my maid Mary is a bed and in her first sleep, and very wayward if she be waked.

Lord Chamberlain.	Lord Treasurer.
Lord Marshal.	Lord Lindsey.
Lord Salisbury.	Lord Roxborough.
Lord Carlisle.	Lord Monmouth.
Lord Holland.	Lord Goring.
Lord Dorset.	Lord Doncaster.
Lord Andover.	Lord Dunluce.

Indorsed—*For your noble self, my most honoured Lord.*

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